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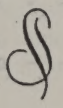
TWELFTH COLONY PLUS

The Formative Years of Pennsylvania
and a
Biography of James Buchanan

Fifteenth and only President of the United States from Pennsylvania

by

C. M. BOMBERGER



JEANNETTE PUBLISHING COMPANY
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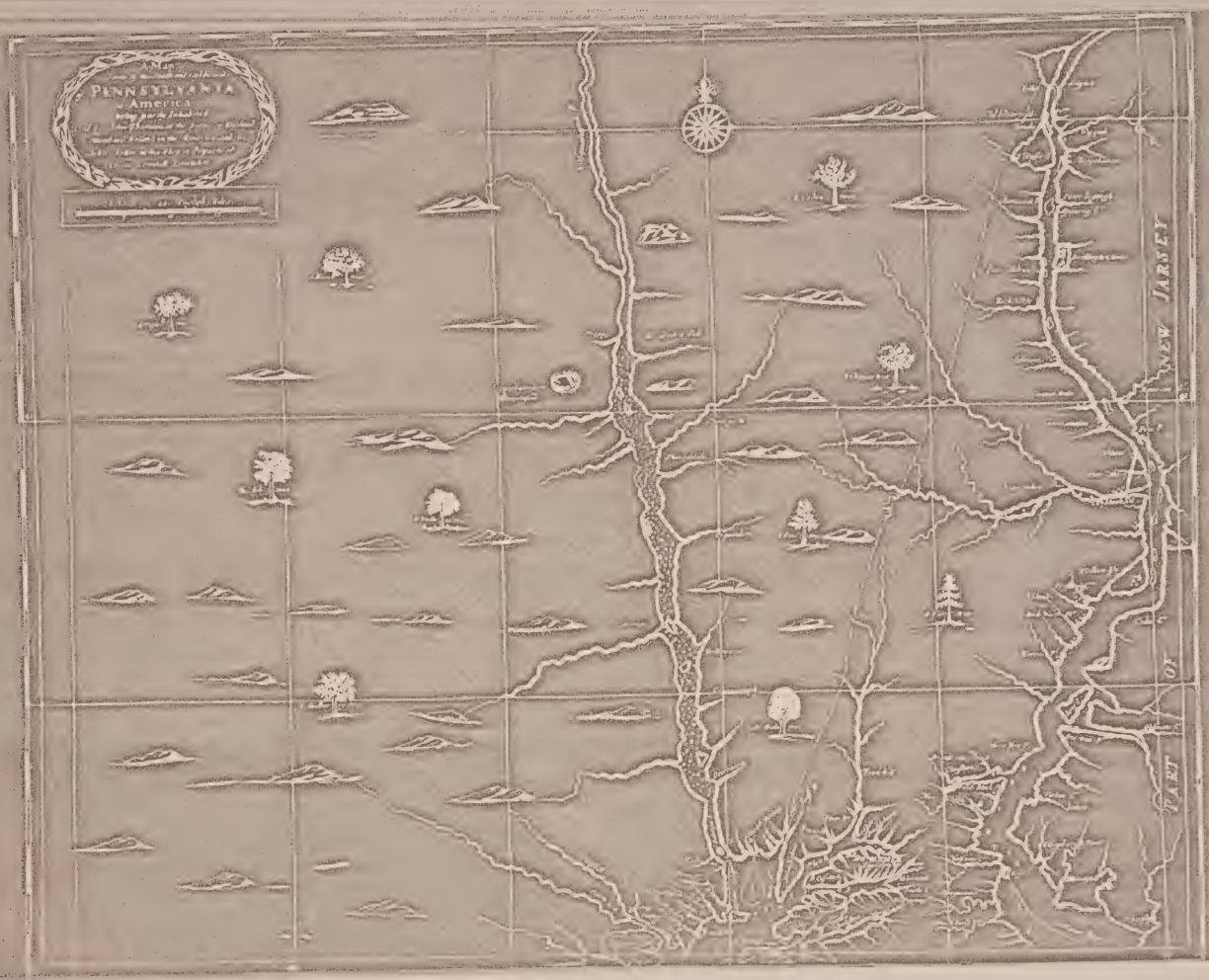

PENNSYLVANIA
America
NEW JERSEY

First Map

of

Pennsylvania

Under William Penn, 1681

Edited by

Albert Cook Myers

Philadelphia 1923

From Arthur Pound's

"The Penns of Pennsylvania"

1

THIS KEYSTONE IS A PARALLELOGRAM

A PENNSYLVANIAN well may echo the Psalmist, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage." Examination of some phases of this heritage led to the uninvited, but welcome, it is to be hoped, willingness to share the result of excursions into the fertile field of Pennsylvania history.

Use of a limited but meaty personal collection of authoritative books whose writers gained their status by original research, was augmented by hours of study in the Pennsylvania Room of the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh, as well as examination of original papers in private and public hands.

Assistance in gaining the proper viewpoint is acknowledged in paragraphs like this at the beginning of each chapter, although there is no attempt at a complete bibliography. The principal chore has been one of choice.

Occasional references open the gate for the reader who wants to go further.

PENNSYLVANIA, the Keystone, unlike the architect's wedge-shaped voussoir, is a parallelogram, 302 miles long by 159 wide, covering 45,126 square miles. Its boundaries are an example of geometry's first theorem, the shortest distance between two points, that is to say, straight lines. The exceptions are the Delaware river on the east, the slanting but fairly regular shore of Lake Erie on the northwest and the arc constituting the northern boundary of Delaware in the southeast.

As a bewildered school boy I failed to bound Pennsylvania correctly. A stern country school teacher imposed a penalty which included memorizing the names of the 67 counties in the state. Until I began to place most of my reliance upon the written and printed word that retentive achievement was a valued possession, even though it led nowhere. Let's go places, historically.

Who cut a piece out of the lower right hand corner of the map of Pennsylvania? How did it get its chimney? Why is the western boundary not parallel with the line of the frame enclosing the map? It so happens that the answers to these questions have important places in our national history. I do not remember that an effort was made to solve these puzzles in that little one room brick school house. At any rate the impressions were not indelibly made. Many other uninteresting facts were crammed into youthful heads—unimportant dates, diagrams of battles, for instance. How useless some of those parrot-like recitations proved! The contents of memory shelves became cluttered and confused. These pages attempt a bit of discarding, with pauses to ponder this and that significance, which often has been passed by.

* * *

One meets parallelograms in geometry. The primary meaning of the word geometry is from the Greek ge (earth) and metro (measure.) In these pages Pennsylvania is not measured by geometry, although knowledge, or perhaps lack of knowledge of geometry, had a far reaching influence. It is the happenings within what now are the borders of Pennsylvania which interest us here. It is geography touching the seldom reached high points of history. Most of the mathematics is to be found in the chapter titles. It is of such a simple nature (it had to be, for the author is not a mathematician) that all may readily understand. It begins with an English admiral who attained royal favor in 1665 and ends with an American president who was much maligned 200 years later.

* * *

Five years after Columbus found his first "Isles of India," the English flag was carried up and down the Atlantic coast of the main land of America by John Cabot. A quarter of a century later Giovanni Verrazano did the same with the French flag.

Less than a century after that the French had entered the St. Lawrence river and in another hundred years had erected some sixty forts extending from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi river.

During the same period England had settled colonies along the Atlantic sea board, taking some by main force from the Dutch, who had edged in for a colony of their own and had absorbed another started by the Swedes. Most of these colonies received grants from "sea to sea," meaning from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This was fine on paper, but not so fine when the Appalachian mountains formed a barrier difficult to cross, and with the French firmly entrenched beyond.

The English settlements were largely havens for religious sects such as the Puritans and the Quakers. These people crossed the ocean to stay. The French settlements all were controlled by the Crown and operated by people who expected sooner or later to return to Paris.

As long as the Stuarts, with their "divine rights" ideas, ruled, England and France were friendly. Charles and James Stuart borrowed from France to finance their fights with parliaments which had little stomach for this "divine rights" business. When Dutch William, the enemy of Louis XIV of France, became king of England, the situation changed. The fighting began in America with the savages helping the French. France was soundly thrashed. When it was all over England controlled the North American continent, or at least the eastern half. France didn't appear to care much about America, anyway. It was control of Europe which motivated. Even Napoleon, later on, preferred a pile of American dollars to retaining the great expanse of the Louisana territory.

American descendants of the men who had chopped off the head of "Divine Rights" Charles I, before long added a new chapter to the old story of self-government.

Pennsylvania furnished much of the material for the new chapter. Pennsylvania was the 12th colony established by the English in America. Because of the presence of older colonies, which claimed all the land unsettled or unexplored (terra incognita) round about, it was difficult to establish its boundaries. That so much history of national importance clung to the establishment of these boundaries is coincidental. State boundaries in a country such as the United States of America usually have been buried as unimportant in a general way. This may be true of other states, but not of Pennsylvania.

* * *

Map makers usually depict small areas on the basis of the earth being a flat surface. Mercator, a Flemish cartographer, almost a century after Columbus, projected the whole earth in this way. It was handy for mariners because all the lines of latitude and longitude were before them at one glance. The necessary distortions near the poles made little difference. There were more comfortable areas than the polar regions to explore.

Today, when accuracy is desired in the projection of large areas, the earth must be considered as a geoid, that is, the mean sea level of the earth is conceived as extended over the entire globe, or spheroid. Mountains, valleys, lakes or rivers are not taken into account. The curvature of the earth, using the geodesy method, results in geodetic lines. For example, the southwestern corner of the map of Pennsylvania is nearer the "frame" than the northwestern corner at Lake Erie. Yet both the southwestern corner of the map of the state and the lower left hand corner of the "frame" are right angles! This strange mathematical contradiction is stated on the authority of Philip H. Dewey, secretary of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania in 1934.

These things may not seem of importance, except to map makers and mathematicians. Astronomy and

geometry are not easily acquired branches of science. It takes years to make a good mariner or a recognized surveyor. Before Columbus' time little was known of these sciences. The Norsemen landed in America when blown out of their home waters. Fishermen from French Brittany enjoyed the fishing off the coast of Newfoundland and returned home again safely. But astronomy, navigation and mathematics generally were still too undeveloped to make repeat voyages in comparative safety. Afterward Columbus, with a little more knowledge, deliberately tried the voyage due west and gave others courage by what he found.

In Columbus' day navigation was pretty much by God and by guess. The North Star as a permanent fixture on clear nights helped. The use of the mariner's compass aided materially. But it was not until mathematicians established the Greenwich meridian and the invention of the chronometer that it became easier to find out where you were on the ocean or in the wilderness.

With incomplete knowledge of latitude and longitude when explorers were far away from home it isn't strange that maps were sorry affairs. Then, too, astronomers and mathematicians in Europe attempted to establish boundary lines in a land thousands of miles across the water. Coupled with a scanty knowledge came errors in computation. As for the adventurers on the ground, they knew nothing and cared less about boundaries. Greed and not mathematics fixed boundary lines, in spite of the enormous expanse of land available for settlement. Their greed brought conflicts, if not between white and white, then between white and red until the English white reigned supreme.

Even today errors arise in the use of geodesy because the length of a degree of longitude in different latitudes varies. At the equator a degree of longitude is 69.16 miles long. The nearer you get to the poles the less the

number of miles in a degree of longitude. For example, at the 80th meridian of latitude a degree of longitude is only 12.05 miles in length. Measure an orange or an apple (usually slightly flattened top and bottom) on which lines of latitude (parallel to the equator) and longitude (passing through both poles) have been drawn, and you will see how this happens to be.

Perhaps one might paraphrase Lewis Carroll:

"If seven men with seven maps
Argued for half a year
Do you suppose," the Walrus said,
"That they would get it clear?"
"I doubt it," said the Carpenter,
And shed a bitter tear.

The Carpenter's skepticism is well founded.

* * *

But, perhaps, it is only the historical "story" that interests you. If so, you'll find it stressed in these pages, we trust altogether to your liking. After all Pennsylvania is the keystone, not only of the 13 original states, but of the history of the United States of America.

German influence, so often neglected by other writers, molded at least one-third of the keystone—and more—and is given a chapter.

Caught in a maelstrom of events which shattered his reputation but not his character Pennsylvania's only president is part of the historical keystone and his history making career is included.

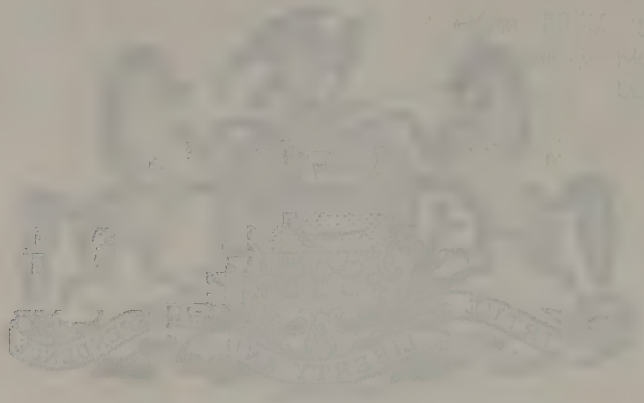
The book deals almost solely with the formative years of the state.

You will find it stresses facts instead of opinions.

PENNSYLVANIA COAT OF ARMS

The State Coat of Arms of the Commonwealth seldom appeared on colonial documents, but after the Declaration of Independence, State paper money issued in 1777 showed a circular insignia. The next year the design was elaborated and two years later the shield was changed to its present shape. Then followed a long series of variations. Colors of the horses changed. For a time one was black, one white; one was lying down, one standing; one faced one way, the other opposite; one had harness, the other was bare. A rising sun of prosperity and a cornucopia came and went from the design.

In 1875 the General Assembly made the present design official. The escutcheon or shield shows a ship under full sail with blue sky for a background denoting commerce. In the center is a plough on a gold background denoting industry and on the lower division three golden sheaves appear on a green background, which with the cornstalk in the wreath denote fruits of labor. The shield is supported by two caparisoned black horses, rearing and facing each other, denoting enterprise. An eagle with wings spread for rising surmounts the crest as a symbol of freedom. The olive branch which is part of the wreath evidently bespeaks peace. The significances are summed up in the motto.



2

A FATHER'S DISCRETION ENABLED THE SON TO ATTEMPT TO SQUARE THE CIRCLE OF A FREE AND JUST GOVERNMENT

SAMUEL PEPYS in his Diary shows Admiral William Penn at his horseplay and in his cups. Like his father, Captain Giles Penn, the admiral had the gift of making friends in high places. He was a muscular man, strong in body and mind.

That he was ambitious for his son, William, to follow in his footsteps, is evident when the story of his life is studied. He was by way of succeeding in those ambitions until Quaker influences led that son's feet to other paths. Before the "Inner Light" had seized upon the young man, a picture, probably the only one painted from life, shows William Penn, the great pacifist, in armour at the age of 22.

This same young man stirred up quite a tempest in his father's soul during the

JAMES STUART, Duke of York, who afterward became King James II, was in command of England's naval forces and counted himself quite a sailor. He leaned heavily upon a real sailor, Admiral William Penn.

Historians lay considerable stress upon the words "discretion under our dearest brother" in the charter drawn up by Charles II which granted Pennsylvania to the son of the admiral.

Biographers tell us that before the battle of Lowestoft, when the English won such a signal naval victory over the Dutch, Admiral Penn was valued chiefly for his knowledge of the sea. After 1665 he knew something, whatever it was, of far more importance to the ruling family than seamanship. There is a

latter's last years. There were other troubles, mostly of a political nature, which hastened the Admiral's death at the comparatively early age of 49. But the obstinate actions of his son in affiliating with the lowly and persecuted Quakers contributed not a little to that premature demise.

Arthur Pound, in his "Penns of Pennsylvania" tells the story of the Penns from 1642 to 1869, a long time for a family to remain preeminent. A strong, self-seeking sailor founded a family cycle which lasted through five generations and included the rise of a great commonwealth and a great nation.

his father used discretion. story to the effect that the Duke's flagship in that battle shortened sail to safeguard the Duke's person.

Dissemination of such information would not have added to the Duke's prestige.

Admiral Penn knew how to be close-mouthed.

At any rate from that time on the elder Penn stood close to the royal family.

Later William Penn, the Quaker, profited by the award of a province in payment of a money debt. This was from Charles Stuart. From James Stuart he received what now is Delaware, as a gift, all because The growth of Brittannia's power on the seas was well under way, but that is not our theme.

Upon William Penn the Quaker's application, King Charles II was delighted to pay a debt of 16,000 pounds owed the petitioner's father for cash loans and for naval services during the war with Holland, by deeding over a tract of land in wild America.

As set forth in the charter granted by the king, the political, religious and patriotic reasons were:

> Whereas our Trustie and well beloved Subject, William Penn, Esquire, sonn and heire of Sir William Penn, deceased, out of a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such useful commodities as may bee of benefitt to us and our Dominions, as also to reduce the Savage Natives by gentle and just manners to love of civill Societie and Christian Religion hath humbly besought leave of us to transport an ample colonie unto a certaine Countrey hereinafter described, etc.

The purely personal reason (note the emphasis placed on discretion) was:

> And haveing regard to the memorie and meritts of his late father, in divers services, and perticulerly to his conduct, courage and discretion under our dearest brother, James, Duke of Yorke, in that signall battell and victories, fought and obtayned against the Dutch fleet, commanded by the Heer Van Opdam, in the yeare One Thousand six hundred sixty-five, in consideration thereof of our special grace, certain knowledge and meere motion, Have given and granted, etc.

The boundaries, which later caused so much dispute, are given in the grant as

> All that tract or parte of land in America, with all the Islands therein conteyned, as the same is bounded on the East by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance, Northward of New Castle Towne unto the three and fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude if the said River doeth extend soe farre Northwards; But if the said River shall not extend soe farre Northwards, then by the said River soe farree as it doth extend, and from the head of said River the Easterne Bounds are to bee determined by a Meridian Line, to bee drawne from the head of said River unto the three and fortieth degree. The said lands to extend westwards, five degrees in longitude, to bee computed from the said Eastern Bounds, and the said lands to bee bounded on the North, by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude; and on the south, by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from New Castle Northwards, and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northerne Latitude; and then by a straight Line westwards, to the limitt of Longitude above mecioned.

Uncertain as to the interior and suspecting it to be a sea with "Islands therein conteyned" the King's geographers were confused about the location of meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude in the unexplored land of "Savage Natives." This inexactness gave grounds for the furious controversies with Maryland and Virginia later on.

How narrowly the province escaped the precedential

prefix "New" is set forth in a letter William Penn wrote to Robert Turner. Penn explained to his Quaker friend that he wished to call his acquisition New Wales, but the king would not have it thus, insisting that it should be called Pennsylvania or "the high or head woodlands." The king's secretary, Leoline Jenkins, a dour Welshman, dead set against having this foolish Quaker experiment named after his native land, refused to accept a gratuity of twenty guineas (so Penn wrote) to

> "vary the name for I feared it should be looked on as a vanity in me."

A prophetic sentence from that same letter is part of the inscription in the dome of the Capitol building at Harrisburg,

> "And my God will make it the seed of a nation."

So it has come about.

Ancient legal procedure not unlike present day practices in transferring a valuable property for $1.00 is evident in Penn's agreement, as a feudal subject, according to the terms of his charter.

> To bee holden of us, our heires and Successors, Kings of England, as of our Castle at Windsor, in our County of Berks, in free and common soccage by fealty only for all services, and not in Capite or by Knights service, Yeelding and paying therfor to us, our heires and Successors, two Beaver Skins to bee delivered att our said Castle of Windsor, on the first day of January, in every yeare; and also the fifth parte of all Gold and silver Oare, which shall from time to time happen to be found within the Limitts aforesaid, cleare of all charges, and of our further grace certaine knowledge and meere mocon, we have thought fitt to Erect, and wee do hereby Erect the aforesaid Country and Islands, into a province and Seigniorie, and do call it Pensilvania, and soe from henceforth wee will have itt called, etc.

The original charter, or copy of it, is in the Division of Public Records of the Estate of Pennsylvania at Harris-

burg. Even yet the parchment shows strength and the gorgeously emblazoned heraldic devices excite admiration. There is a skillful portrait of Charles II and each line of the old English script is underscored in red ink.

Algernon Charles Sidney, the "elder statesman without a state", who was soon to have his head hacked off by the public executioner, helped Penn draft a Frame of Government, which included religious freedom and a voice in the government to all its people. There were restraints and restrictions but the declaration of principles was to

> support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration.

The outward law was needed, Penn's theory of government claimed, because men will not always obey the Quaker "inner light".

Out of a background of old world strife and stress he wrote as a governing principle of the new Pennsylvania

> Governments, like clocks, go from motion men give them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so are they ruined, too.
>
> That, therefore, which makes for a good constitution must keep it, namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth.

The Holy Experiment, alas, was too perfect for human nature to compass, as history has disclosed. Out of it came another experiment, a representative democracy, which still lives.

This idea of government inculcated in the minds of Pennsylvanians early furnished practical demonstrations.

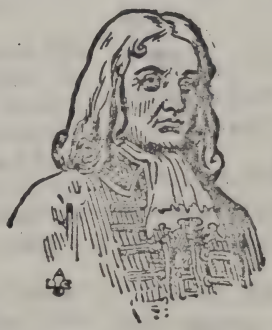
Whatever may have been the dissension among the delegates from Pennsylvania and Delaware as the Declaration of Independence was considered, when the die was cast these

two provinces brought into being by William Penn's Holy Experiment, were first to subscribe their anxiety to enter the roster of the United States of America. Delaware ratified the Constitution and was the first state in the Union on December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania came next and was "admitted" five days later.

Penn's fundamental philosophy has permeated all our instruments of government and has found expression in every constitution of every state of this Union. It is a philosophy which until very recent years has been peculiar to the American republic.

Penn's early life had been spent in a country in which the few ruled the many; in which the voice of the common man was not heard in government; in which opportunity for success, for education, for position were influenced by wealth.

The new order contemplated by Penn for the new commonwealth at least has partially succeeded.



William Penn

3

AN ARC WHICH CAUSED MUCH BICKERING: A LINE LIMITING DIXIE: A THORN WHICH REMAINED EMBEDDED A LONG TIME

IT IS well to remember that when William Penn received the charter for the province of Pennsylvania from Charles II there were about 2,000 people of European nations, chiefly Swedes and English, in the territory which was granted to him, besides the Indians, who, at that time were chiefly Iroquoian and Algonquian.

The Mason and Dixon line story is fairly familiar to most students of history. Most of the information given here was gleaned from the 650 page report of the Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs for 1887.

Until recently the "thorn" mentioned as sticking into Delaware from Pennsylvania was evident on all maps of Pennsylvania.

Much original source ma-

WHERE the Blue Hens of Delaware clucked for Independence, once the Swedes and the Dutch had a firm hold on the American continent. Then, English interests became masters.

For many years surveyors muddled through arcs and tangents.

When the colonies became states a line resulted which was a demarcation for slavery.

A sad chapter in the history of the United States, "The War of the Brothers", ensued.

Much history was made on the shores of Delaware bay.

Henry Hudson, an Englishman flying the Dutch flag, looked in. This gave the Dutch

terial is available for a study of the "New Castle Circle", the Mason and Dixon line and the early history of the sections of land facing on Delaware bay and river.

Pennsylvania and Delaware Historical society publications proved a mine of information. "The History of New Sweden" by Rev. Israel Acrelius should be read more zealously for further light on the pre-Pennsylvania period.

Albert Cook Myers in his book "The Boy, George Washington" gives some interesting additional matter from original sources about Cresap.

The map showing the arc of the "New Castle Circle" and the "thorn" was made after that presented in the report of the Pennsylvania Secretary of Internal Affairs for 1922.

the Delaware country. a claim. They establishd a settlement called Zwanendael (the vally of the swans), where Lewes, Delaware, now stands. The arms of Holland, emblazoned on a piece of tin were placed on a pole, says tradition. An Indian took the tin to make a tobacco box. When the quarreling was ended the white men all were dead and their cabins burned.

Soon afterward, Samuel Argall, adventuring out of Jamestown, named this arm of the Atlantic Delaware bay, after the governor of English Virginia, de la War.

After losing his job as governor of New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island, which he had purchased from the Indians for $24 worth of five and ten store gadgets, Peter Minuit headed a Swedish expedition to He built Fort Christina, now Wilmington.

John Printz, a Swede, built Fort Casimir. Before long Swedes and Finns lived every here and there along Delawar bay, even as far north as the site of Philadelphia.

For ten years New Sweden flourished.

Fort Casimir became New Amstel when the Dutch reasserted themselves.

Peter Stuyvesant, Dutch settlements governor, sta-

tioned at New Amsterdam, stood firmly on his peg leg when the Catholic Lord Baltimore, of the Calvert family, pressed his claims under a charter from the English king, Charles I, which was to include all unsettled lands facing the Atlantic ocean between the mouth and fountain head of the Potomac river and the fortieth degree of north latitude. The "fountain head" and north south-easterly flow of the Potomac accounts for the Western Maryland of today and the "isthmus" near the Pennsylvania line connecting with eastern Maryland.

Virginia's original grant was between the 34th and 41st degree of latitude and Plymouth originally extended down to the 38th degree. The king could grant and regrant his lands in America. Charters always could be revoked and overlapping of territory in such a vast wilderness was inconsequential!

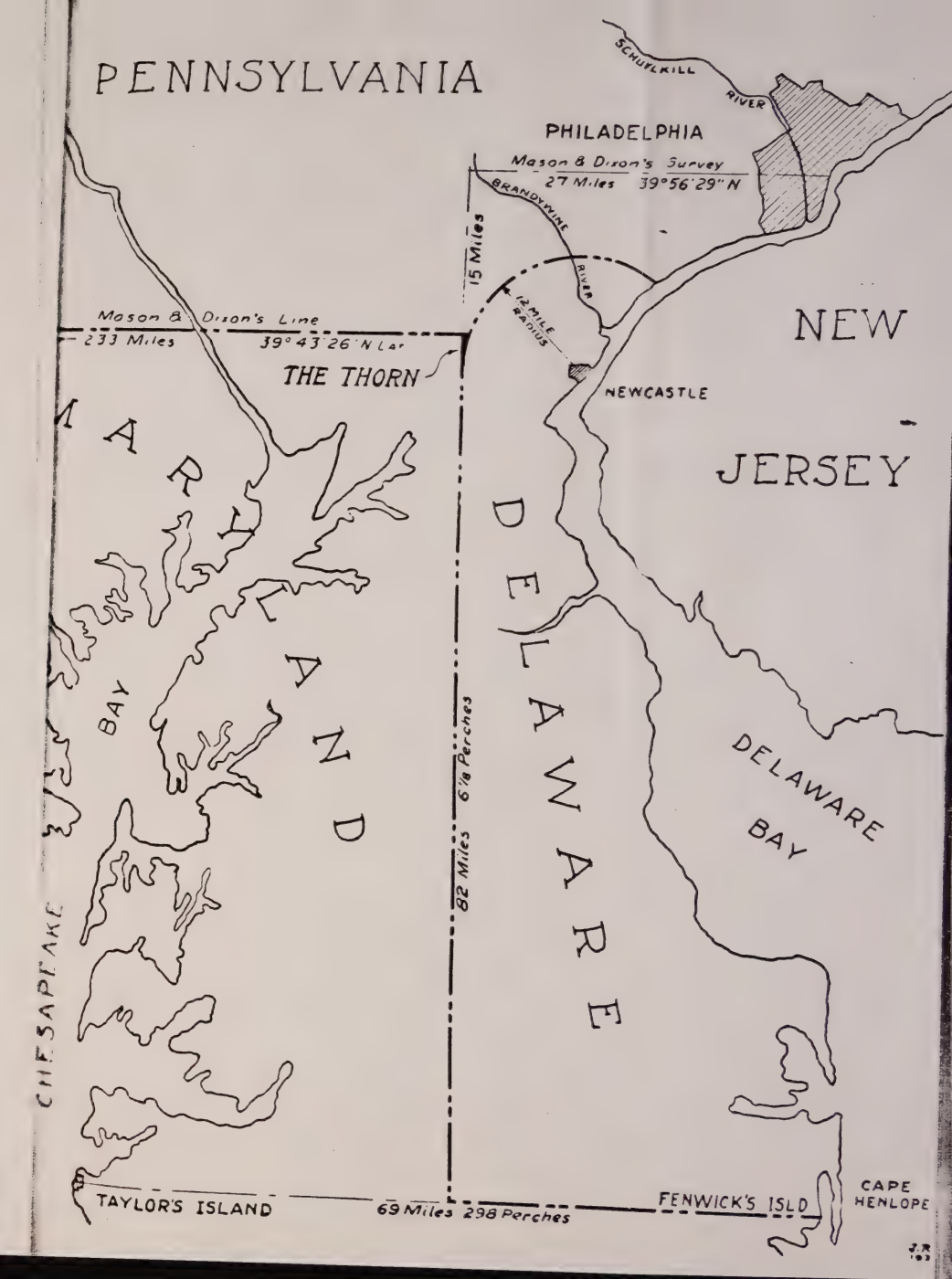
Baltimore's grant included all the land mentioned in his charter which was "hactenus terra unculta." The wily Dutch stressed "uncultivated and uninhabited" as not descriptive of the lands they occupied and therefore not included in his grant.

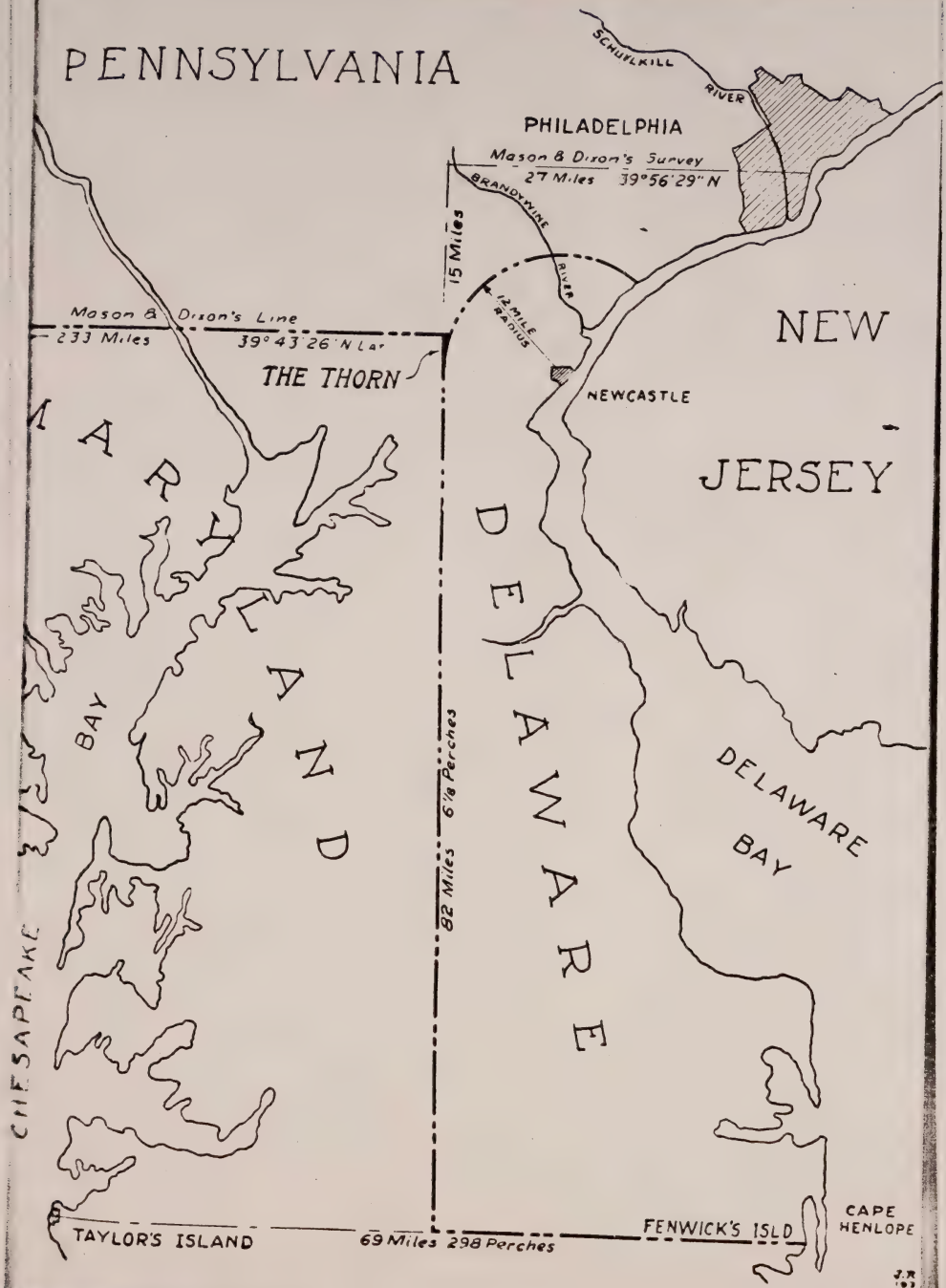
The Dutch gravitated to New Amstel, now the largest town in the colony. Over in England Charles II called to mind (or someone for him, for this successor of Oliver Cromwell didn't think much about anything but pleasure and women) how John Cabot, in his futile search for a northwest passage to India, had sailed up and down the Atlantic coast, thus establishing English claim to all of the wilderness from Canada to Florida and from sea to sea.

Charles, like all the Stuarts, was more interested in dynasty than imperialism.

The king and his brother, James, the Duke of York, got along together famously. Both realized their fortunes were in the same boat so far as "Divine Rights" was

PENNS
Mason & Dixon
233 Miles
A R Y
BAY
CHESAPEAKE
TAYLOR'S ISL.


PENNSYLVANIA
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
PHILADELPHIA
Mason & Dixon's Survey
27 Miles 39°56'29" N
BRANDYWINE RIVER
15 Miles
12 MILE RADIUS
Mason & Dixon's Line
233 Miles 39°43'26" N Lat
THE THORN
NEWCASTLE
NEW JERSEY
MARYLAND
DELAWARE
DELAWARE BAY
CHESAPEAKE BAY
82 Miles 6⅛ Perches
TAYLOR'S ISLAND
69 Miles 298 Perches
FENWICK'S ISLD
CAPE HENLOPE


PENNSYLVANIA
SCHUYLKILL RIVER
PHILADELPHIA
Mason & Dixon's Survey
27 Miles 39°56'29" N
BRANDYWINE RIVER
15 Miles
12 MILE RADIUS
Mason & Dixon's Line
233 Miles
39° 43' 26" N Lat
THE THORN
NEWCASTLE
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The
New Castle Circle
And The
Thorn
Drawing by
J. R. Daugherty
1933

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New Castle Circle
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concerned. The duke wasn't popular in England, because he was an avowed Catholic. It wasn't easy to provide sinecures. From America revenues might be obtained for him more readily. Besides, with one of the family (the next in line for the throne) in direct control, colonies established over seas could be kept under closer supervision.

The Dutch had to be kept in their place. They had no business making settlements in the New World. The king gave his brother all land near the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, Dutch or no Dutch.

The Duke's men took charge by force (bloodless, however) and the famous "Duke's Laws" prevailed.

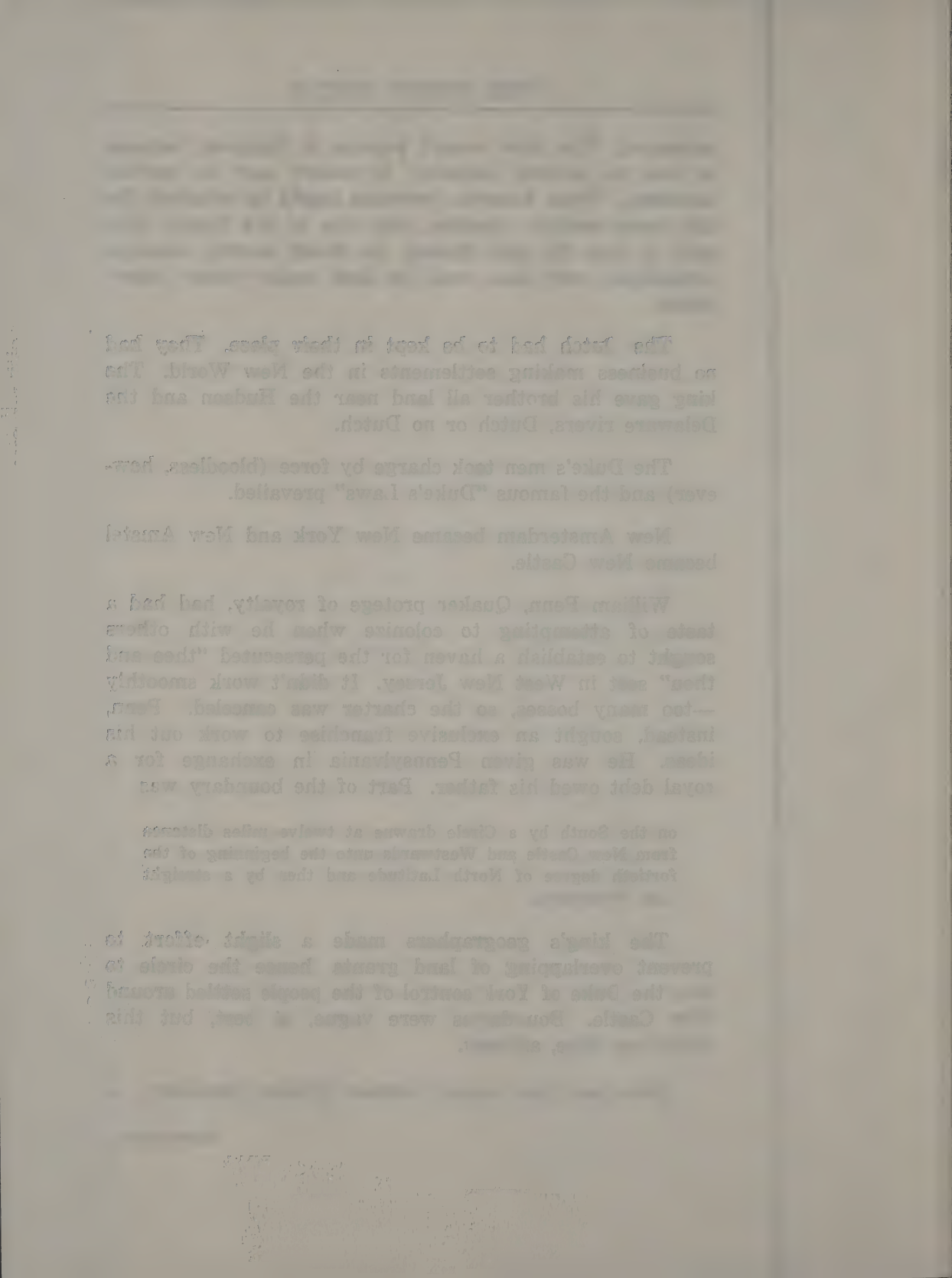
New Amsterdam became New York and New Amstel became New Castle.

William Penn, Quaker protege of royalty, had had a taste of attempting to colonize when he with others sought to establish a haven for the persecuted "thee and thou" sect in West New Jersey. It didn't work smoothly —too many bosses, so the charter was canceled. Penn, instead, sought an exclusive franchise to work out his ideas. He was given Pennsylvania in exchange for a royal debt owed his father. Part of the boundary was

> on the South by a Circle drawne at twelve miles distance from New Castle and Westwards unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of North Latitude and then by a streight Line Westwards.

The king's geographers made a slight effort to prevent overlapping of land grants, hence the circle to give the Duke of York control of the people settled around New Castle. Boundaries were vague, at best, but this much was done, anyway.

Penn sent his cousin, Captain William Markham, to



the scene of the new property to carry out preliminary plans for its development.

Markham had some knowledge of surveying.

When Markham got to Upland (now Chester) he saw that an error had been made in London. The New Castle circle did not meet the southern boundary of Penn's grant, which actually was north of the junction of the Delaware and Schuykill rivers, the site favored for town settlement.

Markham notified Penn, who saw the Duke, and in turn Baltimore was told that Penn must be given a line fifteen minutes of latitude south of the confluence of the two rivers.

Further, to amply provide for his Quaker favorite, the Duke granted all his holdings on the west bank of the Delaware, or the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, to Penn.

The Quaker agreed to pay five shillings per year for the land around New Castle and a red rose and one-half year's profits for the land south of the circle.

Each succeeding Lord Baltimore kept alive Maryland's claim to the tract. This boundary dispute, settled years after Penn's death, was an expensive thorn in the Quaker's side, especially during the years when hard pressed for funds. He wrote the Marquess of Halifax

> I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did on private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that were ever in it are to be found among us. If this lord, who may remember that his country was cut out of Virginia, and this not for debt or salaries due, but as mere grace, shall carry away this poor ewe lamb, too, my voyage will be a ruinous one to me and my partners, which God defend.

The first Lord Baltimore's charter antedated Penn's

by 49 years. Neither that, nor the Catholicism of Calvert, had weight with the Duke, himself a Catholic.

The Quaker had the edge.

On Penn's first visit to his holdings he stopped at New Castle enroute up the bay and was given the turf, twig, porringer of river water and soil acknowledging his ownership by the authorities there.

Soon after his arrival in the New World he made a social call on Lord Baltimore, but Baltimore was adamant, even pugnacious, for he had, Penn wrote to the Duke of York,

> "within five miles of New Castle * * * erected a fort of bodies of trees * * * and settled armed men therein".

The peaceful Quaker had little stomach for submission to aggression, however opposed to the use of arms.

He could use words!

He told the Duke that Lord Baltimore

> "hath almost cancelled his allegiance to the king herein, and exposed himself to his mercy for all that he hath in the world".

It was the dispute with Lord Baltimore which caused Penn to return to England after less than two years' stay in Pennsylvania. Of course, the illness of his first wife, Gulielma Maria Springett, also was an impelling force for this return home.

Penn's influence shortly after this had much to do with the establishment of religious toleration in England, through two Declarations of Indulgences extending toleration to the Quakers and to all other men. The Catholic James II naturally was thinking of his own co-religionists as "all other men".

Penn had little trouble gaining his point when the boundary dispute came up for adjudication before James

II. Commissions again brought into play the "uncultivated and uninhabited" phrase. The Penn claim was held valid. Had not the king established the title when he was still Duke of York? The commissioners knew how close the Quaker stood to the throne.

The Penn heirs later claimed the 40th degree really began where the 39th left off, that is, the 39th parallel. So the disputation appeared to be never ending.

* * *

Along about 1730 one Thomas Cresap, made a settlement on the west side of the Susquehanna river, just south of the present Wrightsville.

Cresap's grant of land from the 5th Baron Baltimore, was taken out of the old Indian lands of Conejohela.

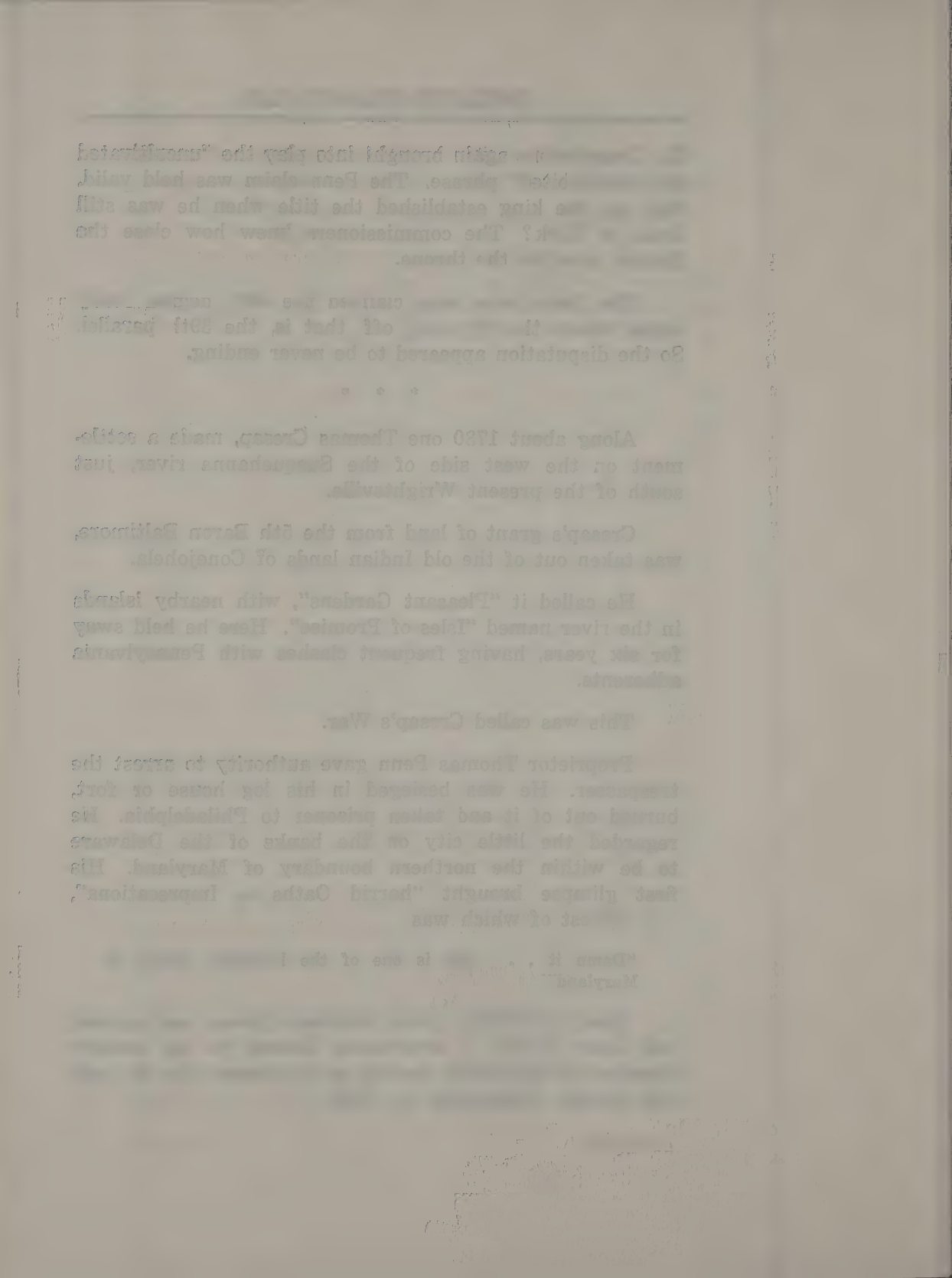
He called it "Pleasant Gardens", with nearby islands in the river named "Isles of Promise". Here he held sway for six years, having frequent clashes with Pennsylvania adherents.

This was called Cresap's War.

Proprietor Thomas Penn gave authority to arrest the trespasser. He was besieged in his log house or fort, burned out of it and taken prisoner to Philadelphia. He regarded the little city on the banks of the Delaware to be within the northern boundary of Maryland. His first glimpse brought "horrid Oaths & Imprecations", the mildest of which was

> **"Damn it . . . this is one of the Prettyest Towns in Maryland"!**

Upon importunity from Baltimore Cresap was released and later became a picturesque Colonel in the western frontier of Maryland, having as his guest the 16 year old George Washington in 1748.



The Iroquois Indian dance described by this young surveyor in his dairy occurred then.

* * *

Finally in 1760, after the death of the widow, Hannah Penn (Hannah Callowhill, Penn's second wife), the then Lord Baltimore made an agreement with John and Thomas Penn.

Under this arrangement, the circle with a radius of 12 miles was to be drawn about New Castle as originally described, a tangent was to be drawn from the "middle point" of the peninsula (between Delaware and Chesapeake bays), and 15 miles south of Philadelphia a line was to be drawn due west from the circle. The tangent, it was figured, touched the western part of the circle on a line drawn from the Delaware river due west at about that distance south of the City of Brotherly Love.

David Rittenhouse and other colonial surveyors began the work of running the lines. The authorities became impatient and Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, English astronomers of repute, were employed. They checked Rittenhouse's circle and found it correct to the dot.

A little speedier work and the famous line might have been called Rittenhouse Line instead of Mason and Dixon.

Determining the middle point of the peninsula was quite a chore.

Early maps, including one by Capt. John Smith, of Pocahontas fame, showed Cape Henlopen, through which latitude the line was to be drawn, much further south than it now is.

The line through the peninsula was drawn from Taylor's Island along Chesapeake Bay to Fenwick's Island on the Atlantic coast. This was a distance of 69 miles, 298 perches.

From the middle point of this line the surveyors went north 82 miles six and one-eighth perches to where they figured it would intersect the New Castle circle.

This intersection point was not definitely determined, however, until the "fifteen miles south of Philadelphia" was settled upon.

Mason and Dixon, who kept a field book of their work, so we know something about their difficulties, determined the southern limit of Philadelphia (South street) to be 39 degrees, 56 minutes, 29 seconds, north latitude.

To go due south from Philadelphia meant surveying across the Delaware river, a difficult undertaking.

So they extended their line 27 miles westward or beyond the Brandywine river, and then measured 15 miles south, thus establishing a "tangent point" for the line westward which was to be of such importance in history.

A good sized book could be written about this. In fact, a number of books have been written about it.

With the best scientific instruments of the day the two men, with a number of helpers and an Indian escort, started westward from the tangent point.

They had a zenith sector provided with a micrometer and used a Gunter's 66 foot chain. They used wooden frames to make surveyor's "levels" on the slopes of the mountains they had to cross.

The line they surveyed is on the parallel of north latitude 39 degrees, 43 minutes and 26 seconds.

When the line had been run 233 miles westward from the Delaware, the work was stopped upon orders from the Six Nations, who would not permit them to cross the Catawba Trail, which was the Iroquois trail

southward. The territory into which the surveyors had come was beyond any of the Indian purchases which had then been made. From the time the surveyors crossed the mountains the Delaware and Shawnee Indians with the party had become more and more threatening. Some of the workmen abandoned the party.

So the line ended at Dunkard Creek, near Mount Morris, Greene county, and close to the spot where the 230th milestone was placed.

On the return eastward, the surveyors were busy cutting the vistas, and placing the milestones which had been brought from England. At the end of each mile was placed a stone having the letter P on one side and M on the other. Every fifth stone had the arms of the Penns on one side and those of the Calverts on the other.

The years destroyed much of the original marking and from time to time the line has been re-surveyed and corrections made where necessary. The last survey, by agreement of Pennsylvania and Maryland was in 1901-1903.

* * *

It was not until 1921 that the northern boundary of Delaware was finally fixed. Pennsylvania and Delaware surveyors agreed on the pulling out of the thorn, which may also be compared to the architect's bead, which preceding and faulty surveying had left sticking into Delaware from the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania.

The thorn was not momentous to anyone except those living on the 714 acres it comprised. They now live in Delaware when before this they weren't certain about what state was entitled to their tax payments.

* * *

The New Castle circle and its peninsular tangent and the resultant Mason and Dixon line, are vivid studies for those who like to ponder historical "ifs".

Had Lord Baltimore's contention carried, Chambersburg probably would not have been burned during the Civil War, just to mention a minor item of history.

It is to be remembered that Philadelphia is below the 40th degree of north latitude and Pittsburgh at the Point is below 40 degrees, 30 minutes.

Strict adherence to fact makes it necessary to add that the Mason and Dixon line, was not, as popularly supposed, the exact dividing line between the free and slave states. Slavery until abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was still legal in Delaware, which is both north and east of the line.

During the discussion in Congress on the Missouri compromise John Randolph made free use of the phrase, which contributed to its more popular use as the dividing line.

The line later was extended westward through three degrees of longitude, to the border of Virginia, the present West Virginia, ending at the peculiar tract of land known as "the pan-handle," where a part of West Virginia runs up between Pennsylvania and the Ohio river, which remained in Virginia when the western boundary of Pennsylvania was erected.

✚ SUPERLATIVES ✚

Largest natural lake, Conneaut, 5 miles long, 2 miles wide

Oldest settlement, Marcus Hook, by the Swedes, 1640

Largest county, Lycoming, 1,220 square miles

Lowest land, Delaware Bay tidewater, Phila. and Delaware counties

Largest lake, Pymatuning dam, 16 miles long, shore line of 70 miles

Largest remainder Penn's Wood, Cook Forest, 9,000 acres

State Flower, American Mountain Laurel (Kalmia latifolia)

Oldest counties, Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester, 1682

Largest township, Upper Darby, Delaware county, 46,626

Highest mountain, Negro, 3,213 feet, Somerset county

Oldest building, Caleb Pusey House, Chester, 1683

Largest cave, Alexander Caverns, Mifflin county

Smallest county, Philadelphia, 128 square miles

Most populous county, Philadelphia, 1,950,961

State tree, Hemlock, (Tsuga canadensis)

Largest city, Philadelphia, pop. 1,950,961

Largest borough, Wilkinsburg, pop. 29,539

Least populous county, Forest, pop. 5,180

Newest county, Lackawana, Estb. 1878

Smallest City, Corry, population 7,152

4

THE ABORIGINAL IN PENNSYLVANIA

PRESIDENT Rutherford B. Hayes in a message to Congress in 1877 laconically said, "Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and acts of injustice on our part."

Eastern Pennsylvania, thanks to William Penn, suffered little from Indian depredations.

Colonel Henry Bouquet broke the backbone of the Pontiac uprising, in 1763 in Western Pennsylvania. Indian hostility in the Ohio river valley did not end until the treaty of Anthony Wayne at Greenville, Ohio, in 1795.

At the opening of the Civil War the Lincoln Administration at Washington proceeded to develop the vast Indian lands in the west for homesteading purposes. The question was whether to subjugate the Indian by the slow process of industry or by the quicker arts of war. War appeared to be the easiest

CHRISTOPHER Columbus, thinking he had reached the shores of India this side of Marco Polo's Cathay, called the inhabitants of the San Salvador or "Holy Savior" islands he discovered, "Indios", and so the name Indian originated.

Almost from the advent of the first white man, not counting the Norsemen, who had encountered the Skrellings as they called the savages, the Indian began vanishing.

The Indian could not adjust himself to new conditions.

The Spanish ruthlessly enslaved or killed the semi-civilized Indians of Mexico and South America.

The French and the English generally scorned the so-called "rights" of the ruder red skins in North America.

The French, true enough, attempted to make the Indian an integral part of the French

way. General Philip Sheridan said "There are no good Indians but dead Indians".

There was a time when Pennsylvania acted fairly to the Indian. This is pleasant to remember.

Penn's own writings and Beard's "The Rise of American Civilization" were used as a background for this essay.

civilization in America, even to the point of French officers and privates in Canada marrying daughters of chiefs and warriors and raising families of "Half-breeds" who were given honor and positions of trust.

The English largely ignored the Indians. They were scarcely mentioned in charters granted for settlement in Virginia, New England or Pennsylvania, and considered something to be subdued as were the wolves or the brambles in the wilderness.

William Penn's policy of not settling any lands, until those lands had been purchased from the Indian occupants, was a distinct departure from previous practices. Lands were purchased in other sections from the Indians but only when absolutely necessary or expedient.

When William Penn received his charter to the province of Pennsylvania, the Lenape or Delaware, including the Turtle, Turkey and Wolf clans, dominated the Delaware river region. The Iroquois were dominant from the Delaware to the western boundaries of the province.

Prior to Penn, Capt. John Smith, of Jamestown, described the giant Susquehannocks he saw on one of his exploring expeditions in what now is Pennsylvania.

The two letters directed to "The Emperor of Canada", the one written by Nicholas Moore, president of the "Free Society of Traders", dated June 19, 1682, and the one written by Penn himself, dated June 21, both written at London, show what erroneous opinions prevailed relative to the Indians in America. Penn soon learned there were no "Emperors of Canada". But he did not change

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his policy of kindliness, mixed with trading hopes, toward the Red Man.

Penn said in his letter:

> The Great God that made thee and me, and all the world, incline our hearts to love peace and justice, that we may live friendly together, as becomes the workmanship of the Great God * * * I have set up a society of traders in my province, to traffic with thee and thy people, for your commodities, that you may be furnished with that which is good, at reasonable rates.

The difference between William Penn's promises to the Indians and those of other provincial governors was that Penn kept his promises.

Following out the ideals of the Holy Experiment, Penn's advance agent, Governor William Markham, purchased land about the Falls of the Delaware from the Indians in 1682.

Thomas Holme, the surveyor-general, read a letter from Penn to the Indians by an interpreter, soon after this, in which Penn said

> I have always taken care that none of my people wrong you, by good laws I have provided for that purpose; nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum, to make your people drunk.

Cultivating the staunch good will of the Indians was not a difficult matter. The Delawares had been relegated to the position of women by the fierce Iroquois and perhaps hoped that Penn would deliver them from this ignominious domination. After a market was found the Iroquois were interested from a pecuniary standpoint in the sale of land, and forbade the Delawares to sell land. But the Iroquois refrained from attacks. They had no desire to spoil their real estate projects.

After Penn came to guide the destinies of Pennsylvania himself he studied the Indian language and soon was able to address them in their own tongue when they

came to visit him at the great outdoor feasts he gave them. The young men would dance for his entertainment and the sachems would present their petitions.

The famous treaty of William Penn and the Indians under the great elm at Shackamaxon always has been a source of controversy among historians. That there was a League of Amity made with Penn by Tamanend (Tammany), of the Turtle Clan, is certain.

Discussing Indian treaties Penn's writings say:

> When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the sachamakers or kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them 'To love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government: that many governors had been in the river, but that no governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong'. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said, Amen, in their way.

The Elm Tree Treaty well may have been similar to this. Voltaire spoke of the famous treaty made on a belt of wampum as the only one that the world has known, "never sworn to and never broken".

Sir William Johnson, who married an Indian girl named Molly Brandt, is said to have owed his early success with the Indians, to his wrestling powers. Penn is supposed to have added to his own prestige by his oratory and his leaping contests with the Indians.

The wampum belts pledging

> "We will live in peace with Onas and his children as long as the sun and moon shall endure,"

were beatitudes which lasted until five years after Penn's death when a white murdered an Indian.

Penn purchased and repurchased land from the Indians. The Dutch and Swedes had bought land from the Indians before his advent. To settle boundary disputes and extinguish all claims Penn bought it again, sometimes again and again.

It was Thomas Penn who liquidated all that beautiful nonsense of his grandfather about justice to the Indians. He was a business man and hired the three best runners he could find in 1737. Then he arranged for the execution of a clause in the old treaty of 1688 which provided that at some future time the extent of the purchase should be defined by a walk of a day and a half. The runners did 60 miles from the present Wrightstown in Bucks County to beyond Mauch Chunk, so that a line from their stopping place in the prior agreed direction came out near the mouth of Lackawaxon creek, embracing the rich Minisink region.

A score of years later a Delaware chief, Teedyuscung, claimed fraud and forgery.

Benjamin Franklin, always at odds with the Penns, petitioned the King of England to investigate the matter. Sir William Johnson looked into it for the King. The proprietors were sustained in their claims, because the Penns had the deeds to show for their purchase and the Indians had been satisfied for a time. Franklin's opposition to the Penns rested in his objection to the proprietors as the embodiment of aristocratic privilege and pretensions and not so much because of his desire to help the Indians. Franklin and Thomas Penn heartily disliked each other. Quakers opposed to the Penns, likewise encouraged Tedyuscung in his trouble making.

In 1764 the founder's grandson, Governor John Penn, issued a proclamation offering a reward for Indian scalps. But eastern Pennsylvania, for years escaped the harrowing Indian massacres so distressful in other colonies.

It is quite a bright spot in the sad history of the later treatment of the Indians, however, to be able to truthfully state that there is not an acre of ground in Pennsylvania, which was not purchased by Penn, or those who followed him, from the Indians.

The Indian, when pushed beyond the "Endless Mountains", failed to grasp the meaning of the points of the compass. He evacuated his hunting grounds for a price, accepting the money and rum, but harbored hate in his heart for the purchaser of his land.

All sorts of people flocked to Pennsylvania in response to William Penn's invitation. Some of them were not kindly disposed to the Holy Experiment. The "inner light" did not shine for them in the treatment of the Indian.

The time came when the Indian forgot about the Great Father, Onas.

The Indian attempted to resist the advance of the white man in the only way he knew.

The valleys of Western Pennsylvania were drenched with blood. The middle and the far western states later suffered likewise.

* * * *

Historical honesty compels the setting forth of several outstanding acts of perfidy on the part of Pennsylvanians, in one instance paralleling the savage himself in cruelty.

The Walking Purchase was a sample of the white man's chicanery; his abuse of the trusting native's simplicity.

Repeated assurances from General John Forbes and other officers were given that the English would leave as soon as the French would be driven out of the Ohio country, were made only to be ignored. Forbes, lying on his deathbed in Philadelphia, sent word to visiting chiefs

that the English would "soon" evacuate the Ohio. They didn't, and Pontiac and Guyasuta almost succeeded in their plans to repel the lying invaders. Col. Henry Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run was glorious, but the treatment of the Indians leading up to the battle beginning with the establishment of Fort Pitt five years before, scarcely are laudatory.

The depth of baseness, however, was the murder of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten ("Mercy Huts") in Ohio by a force of Pennsylvanians under Colonel Williamson. This poured oil on the fire of hate between Red and White during the Revolution along the western frontier.

As Dr. George P. Donehoo says, a cross on calvary appeared to be necessary to give a meaning to the cradle in Bethlehem.

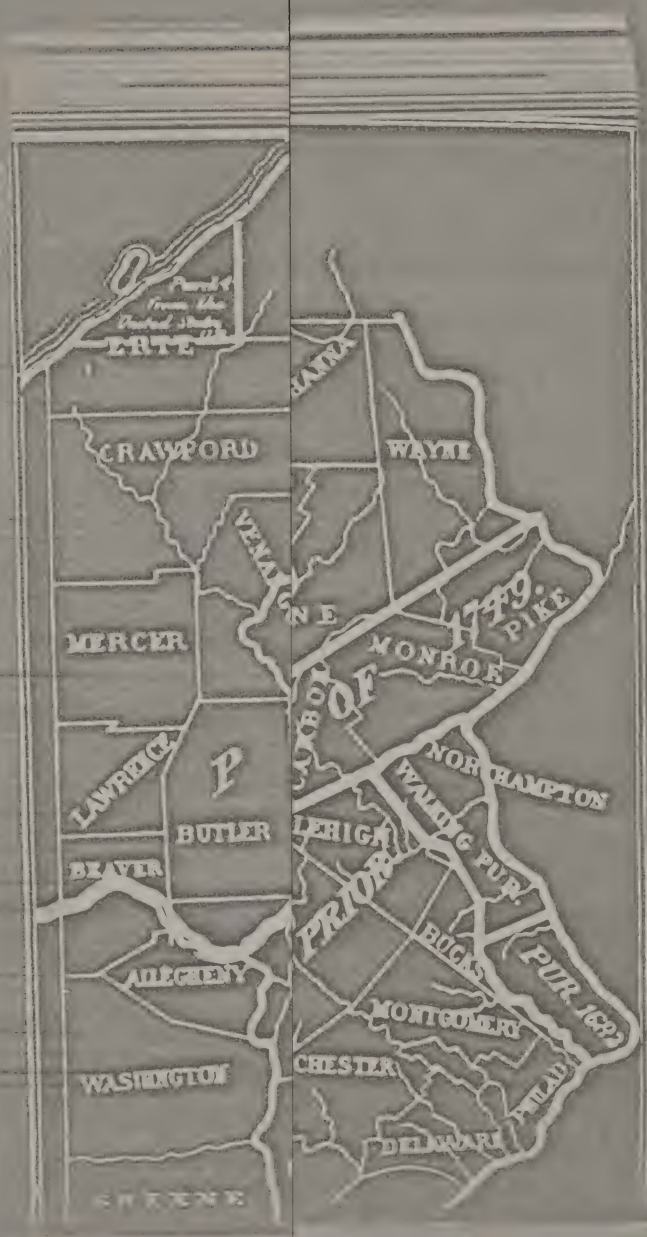
The "Holy Experiment" was shattered on the white and red rocks of man's inhumanity to man.

* * * *

Relative to modern research into the origin of the American Indian it is interesting to note that Dr. Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institute has shown that various racial remnants in Northern and Eastern Asia and neighboring islands resemble the Indians so closely as to be often indistinguishable from them in appearance.

King's College, London, authorities took blood tests of Indians in British Columbia and Siberian tribes on islands off the coast, such as the Giliaks of Sakhalin and the Samoyeds, and found them similar.

Anthropologists generally have accepted the theory that the American Indian is of Mongol origin and centuries ago crossed from Siberia via Alaska to America. William Penn's thought that the Indians were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel had little merit other than that of ingeniousness.


ERIE
CRAWFORD
WAYNE
MERCER
MONROE
PIKE
1779.
LAWRENCE
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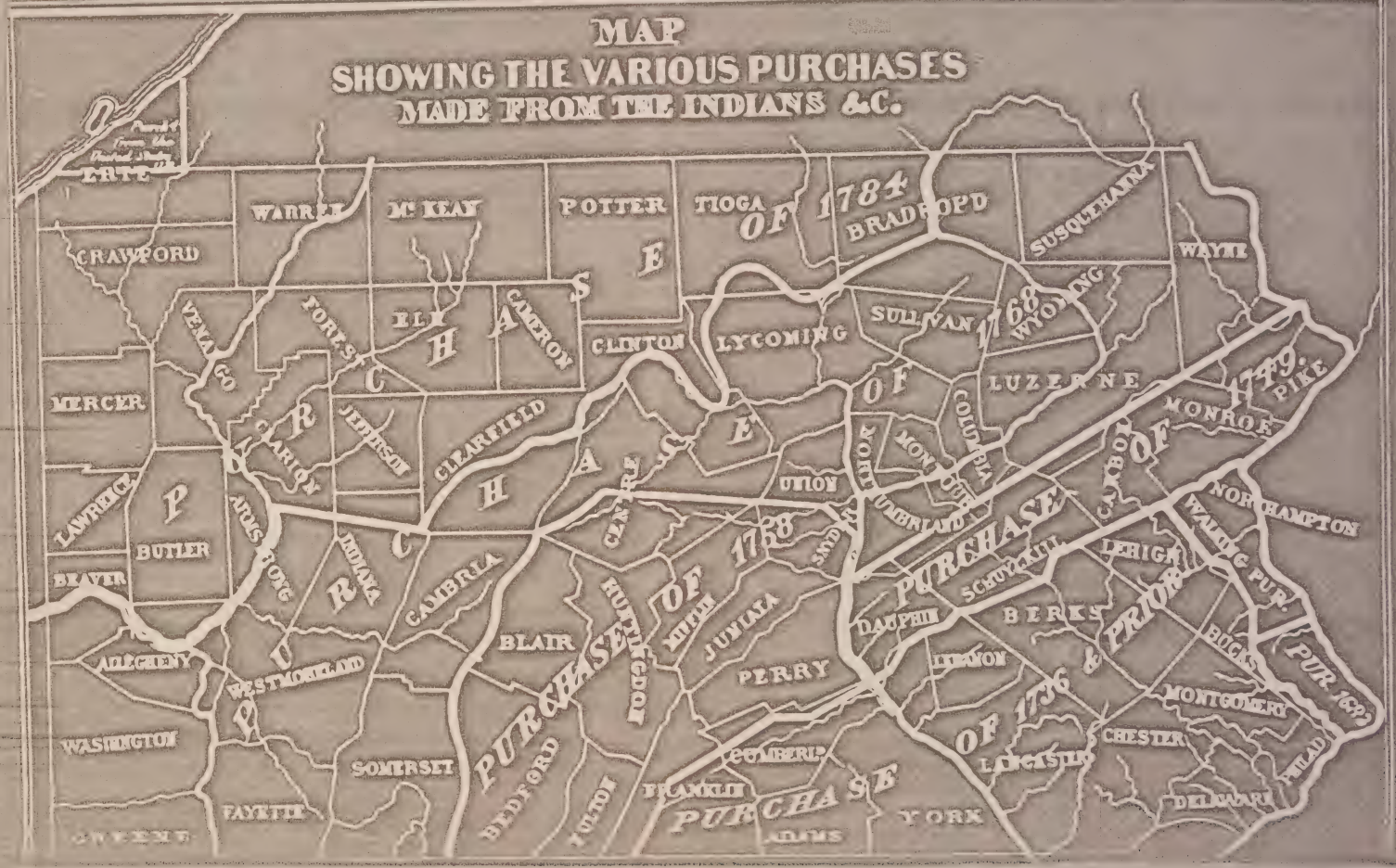
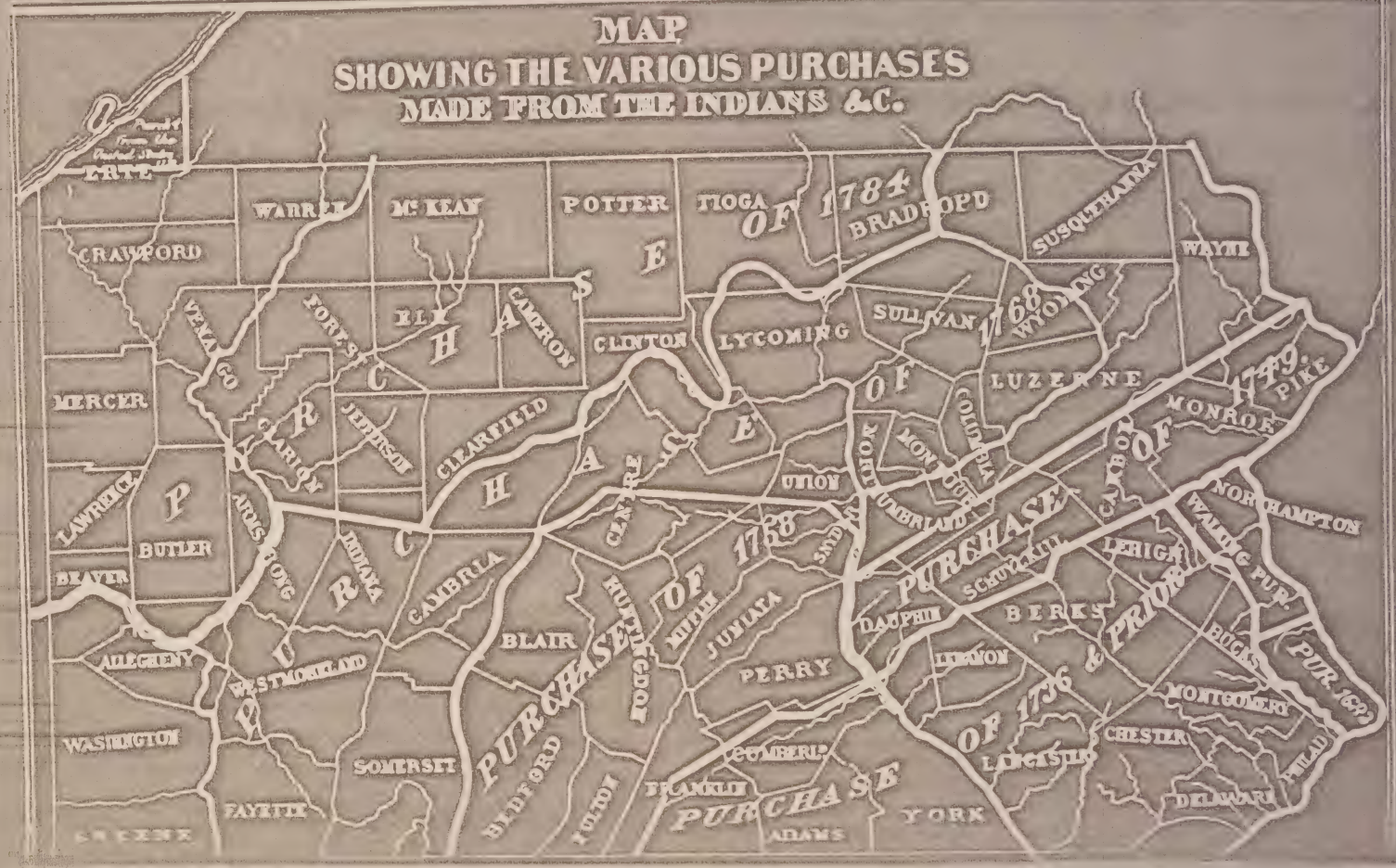
NORTHAMPTON
PURCHASE
PURCHASE 1832
BUCKS
MONTGOMERY
CHESTER
WASHINGTON
DELAWARE


MAP
SHOWING THE VARIOUS PURCHASES
MADE FROM THE INDIANS &C.
ERIE
WARREN
Mc KEAN
POTTER
TIOGA
OF 1784
BRADFORD
SUSQUEHANNA
WAYNE
CRAWFORD
VENANGO
FOREST
ELK
CAMERON
CLINTON
LYCOMING
SULLIVAN
1768
WYOMING
LUZERNE
1779
PIKE
MERCER
CLARION
JEFFERSON
CLEARFIELD
MONROE
LAWRENCE
BUTLER
ARMSTRONG
INDIANA
CAMBRIA
UNION
SNYDER
NORTHUMBERLAND
COLUMBIA
MONTOUR
NORTHAMPTON
BEAVER
ALLEGHENY
WESTMORELAND
BLAIR
1758
JUNIATA
PERRY
DAUPHIN
LEBANON
BERKS
LEHIGH
SCHUYLKILL
BUCKS
MONTGOMERY
WASHINGTON
FAYETTE
SOMERSET
BEDFORD
FULTON
CUMBERLD
FRANKLIN
ADAMS
YORK
1736
LANCASTER
CHESTER
DELAWARE
PURCHASE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1768
WYOMING
LUZERNE
1749.
PIKE
MONROE
MERCER
CLARION
JEFFERSON
CLEARFIELD
CENTRE
UNION
NORTHUMBERLAND
COLUMBIA
LAWRENCE
BUTLER
ARMSTRONG
INDIANA
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1758
SNYDER
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LEHIGH
NORTHAMPTON
WALKING PUR.
PRIOR
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ALLEGHENY
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BLAIR
HUNTINGDON
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PERRY
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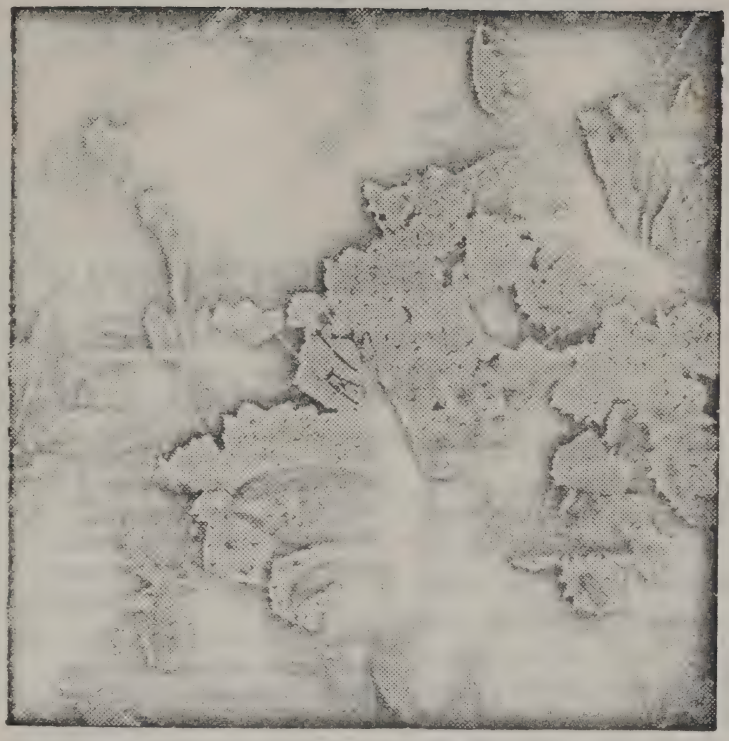
PUR. 1682
LEBANON
1736
MONTGOMERY
WASHINGTON
SOMERSET
CUMBERL.
LANCASTER
CHESTER
FAYETTE
BEDFORD
FULTON
FRANKLIN
PURCHASE
ADAMS
YORK
DELAWARE



PENNSYLVANIA'S STATE FLOWER

Mountain Laurel: Kalmia latifolia

During Colonial days there came to visit William Penn's colony Peter Kalm, Swedish naturalist and writer. He chose the mountain laurel as the most interesting and beautiful of American plants. In this way the plant received its scientific name.

In June, 1933, the legislature asked Governor Gifford Pinchot to choose between the azalea or "wild honeysuckle" and the laurel for state flower honors. The governor's wife chose the evergreen laurel.

It blooms in June, white and pink, waxy in appearance, with blossoms arranged in terminal clusters. The cup-like flowers have 10 dark-colored pockets on the inner lining into which the anthers of 10 stamens fit snugly. When a bee enters the released anther flies up and dusts its pollen on the back of the insect, which will then carry it away to fertilize another flower.

Connecticut, which once tried to take some of Pennsylvania's territory, shares the honor of calling the laurel its state flower.

5

FATE DETERMINED THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION IN A HUGE RIGHT ANGLE

THE narratives about the angle herewith presented are a strange commingling of tragedy, romance, privations and exertions.

The temptation to include much antiquarian lore, which the strict historian might question, had to be overcome.

The importance of this section, where once a proposal to form a new state was more than an idle suggestion, has only partially been recognized.

What source material there is, perhaps, has never been as thoroughly searched as has that having to do with places of lesser importance in the history of the United States along the Atlantic seaboard.

Not the first, nor yet the last of American frontiers, it set the pace for those which developed as the

EXTENDING the lines of the right angle which marks the southwestern corner of the map of Pennsylvania we find included most of the territory drained by the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers, which meet to form the Ohio on the northeastern rim of the great bowl we call the Mississippi valley.

This section of America was the cross roads in the making of a great nation.

John Cabot, a British navigator, sailed up and down the Atlantic coast and thus gave grounds for the English claim to the North American continent from sea to sea, as set forth in the grant to the London company. The grant was to extend 200 miles north and 200 miles south of Point Com-

5

FATE DETERMINED THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION IN A HUGE RIGHT ANGLE

Great West took on the growing pains of civilization.

No claims are made for complete coverage of the activities touched upon. County histories of Westmoreland, Fayette, Greene, Washington, Allegheny are available in libraries for those who find their appetite has been whetted for larger and more extended morsels of more or less local historicity.

fort and was called Virginia for the virgin queen, Elizabeth.

Robert Chevalier de la Salle, French discoverer, penetrated the wilderness between the St. Lawrence and Allegheny rivers, and explored the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. He and his people claimed the boundless region drained by these rivers and their tributaries for France.

Unlike other settlements in the New World that of Pennsylvania was a one man affair. It was governed by a Proprietary government. William Penn regarded the province he started in 1682 as a "Holy Experiment". It provided a governmental control for its people far ahead of the times. After his death in 1718 his widow and sons were the proprietaries.

Unlike most other grants Pennsylvania was definite and not from sea to sea.

After the French were retired, the Virginians, although their charter was revoked in 1624, laid claim to the Ohio valley and all land westward. They did not dispute the five degree westward line granted to Penn but argued the line would not reach beyond the Allegheny mountains and at all events not further than the Monongahela river. The Virginians thought the Monongahela flowing north and the Allegheny flowing south made a natural and reasonable western boundary for Pennsylvania.

* * * 1652482

Captains M. Celeron and M. D. Contrecouer, from Quebec, came down the Upper Ohio (English) or La

Belle Riviere (French), now the Allegheny river, and buried leaden plates every here and there which set forth that the King of France owned the river

> and all of those which flow into it and all the tributaries on both sides as far as the sources of said river, as the preceding kings of France have possessed or still possess them.

Be sure to study Father Bonncamp's map in this connection (you'll find it shown with a later chapter of this book).

They found that Conrad Weiser, a Pennsylvania Indian agent, had secured the friendship of the tribe ruled by Queen Aliquippa at Shannopinstown on the Allegheny river near the forks of the Ohio.

Christopher Gist, an Ohio Company employe, made explorations in the region for the Virginians.

The stage was set for a bloody strife lasting many years.

* * *

When Marquis Duquesne became governor of Canada, his first activity was to make French-Canadian ownership of the Ohio country an actuality. He planned a line of forts southward and already had erected Presque Isle on Lake Erie, Fort Le Boeuf, now Waterford, Fort Venango, now Franklin, and eventually planned to go down the Ohio with the chain.

The fur traders carried news of what was going on to Virginia.

Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent Major George Washington, less than 22 years old, to investigate.

Washington and his guide, Christopher Gist, kept diaries in which they vividly described their now well-

known experiences. Commandant St. Pierre, at Fort Le Boeuf, read the governor's letter warning the French to stop extending their chain of forts and gave young Washington to understand that he proposed to keep on as he had begun.

Dinwiddie applied to the governors of others American colonies for assistance. He got little. None from Pennsylvania, which then was controlled by the war-hating Quakers. Virginia's House of Burgesses voted 10,000 pounds.

Captain William Trent and Lieutenant John Fraser, Virginians, began to construct a fort at the forks of the Ohio, the spot Washington had recommended.

William Penn's heirs knew about this and agreed with the tacit understanding that the fact that this territory was within Pennsylvania's boundaries was not to be forgotten.

The section was then in Cumberland county, but not yet set aside for settlement.

It had not been purchased as yet from the Indians.

Captain Contrecoeur, with a French force, took the partially completed fort, in charge of Ensign Edward Ward during the absence of Trent and Fraser, and made it Fort Duquesne.

Washington was sent from Virginia to remedy matters. The death of the French ensign, Coulon de Jumonville, and the historic encounter at Fort Necessity followed.

The spark which set off the conflagration of the French and Indian war on two sides of the Atlantic, (in Europe it was known as the Seven Year's War) was struck.

Most of the Indians, who had boundary disputes of

their own with the English, joined forces with the French.

General Edward Braddock staged his disasterous expedition, coming north from Virginia. His dying prediction, "We shall know better the next time", was bloodlessly fulfilled by General John Forbes, who raised the banner of St. George over the smouldering ruins at the forks and christened it Pittsburgh.

Forbes named two forts along the Great Road he had hewed over the mountains from eastern Pennsylvania, Bedford and Ligonier, after two famous English military men.

A heated discussion between Forbes, Colonel Henry Bouquet and Washington about the route to take for the reduction of Fort Duquesne had much to do with the final boundary lines of Western Pennsylvania, as well as the later settlement of the Great West. Had the old Braddock road, instead of the new Forbes road from Bedford, been used, slave holding Virginia would have had an edge in establishment of its claim to Ohio territory.

Many historical "ifs" cluster around those conversations.

After the peace of 1763, the boundary question no longer concerned the French. They were out of the picture in the Ohio and Canadian country.

The English and the Indians remained.

Chastening of the Indians at Bushy Run by Bouquet broke the backbone of Chief Pontiac's efforts to force the "white man into the sea". It saved Fort Pitt from annihilation by the savages and kept the road open for the westward advance of white civilization.

The English government never recognized the Indians' claims, and, of course, never questioned Penn's claims or those of his successors.

After Pennsylvania and Maryland had agreed upon the Mason and Dixon line there still remained uncertainty as to the line between Pennsylvania and Virginia.

Virginia claimed the Monongahela and Ohio regions and offered land to settlers. Pennsylvania authorities discouraged settlements in the disputed territory until it had been purchased from the Indians and a boundary line determined between the two colonies.

But settlers flocked west of the "impassable Alleghenies". Some came from eastern Pennsylvania, others from Virginia. Most of the legitimate settlers secured what were known as military permits. They raised farm products between the links of the chain of forts to provide subsistence for the garrisons. This was a scheme of the great war minister, William Pitt.

Other settlers, without military permits, came in disobedience to the mandates of the Proprietaries. Here was a fertile land to take merely by subduing the wilderness and keeping a loaded musket ready for the savages.

George III, of England, had issued orders that a line was to be drawn around the headwaters of all rivers in the colonies which flowed into the Atlantic ocean. All emigrants were forbidden to settle west of that line. All western territory was to be reserved for the Indians. Historians tell us

> The hardy pioneer cared no more for the king's proclamation than he did for the barking of a wolf at his cabin door. The ink with which the proclamation was written had not dried before emigrants from Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania were hurrying into the valleys of the Monongahela.

The squatters (especially after Bouquet's victory at Bushy Run) violated the edicts of their own government and violated the treaties which had been made by the Penns with the Indians.

An English parliamentary act was passed serving notice that those who settled in prohibited territory without permission were to be "punished with death without the benefit of clergy".

General Gage, then in charge of the armies in the colonies, scarcely could enforce the penalty which meant wiping out entire communities. The military permit plan was extended. Permits were to be had for the asking; without red tape. Settlers continued to flock in. East of the mountains the land had become crowded with Quakers and Germans. The Scotch-Irish sought more room.

This was not to the liking of the thrifty Proprietaries. They wished to get rid of land in districts further east and already purchased from the Indians. Altercations between the Indians and the squatters in the west brought Indian reprisals, making probable purchasers of land wary.

It was bad for the Proprietaries' real estate business.

Something had to be done about it.

In 1768 Colonel George Croghan laid the way for the purchase of Indian lands west of the Allegheny mountains at a Fort Pitt conference.

General Sir William Johnson was active in calling a convention at Fort Stanwix in New York. There a treaty was made by the whites with the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Ohio. By its terms the lands east of the Allegheny river as far north as Kittanning and southward along the Ohio and down to the mouth of the Tennessee river, and

> extending eastward from every part of the said line and the purchased lands of settlements

became the property of the English.

It was the last purchase made by the Penns from the Indians. The consideration was ten thousand dollars in provisions and money and an unlimited supply of rum for the Indians.

Now the proprietaries could in good faith sell lands south of the Ohio and east of the Allegheny river.

A rush of settlers followed.

Glowing descriptions of the territory had been carried east by soldiers in the armies of Braddock, Forbes and Bouquet.

The east was over-populated! Perhaps this hunger for huge tracts accounts for scattered farm homes in this country, instead of the centered farm hamlets of Europe.

Every land owner asked for enough timber to furnish fuel for himself and his descendants forever!

The use of coal had not been discovered.

Old Westmoreland was the eleventh of the original provincial counties and the last erected under the hereditary Proprietaries and under the reign of English law.

The authorities, not feeling safe about the extension of the Mason and Dixon line, nor certain of other boundaries, left some of the territory believed to belong to Pennsylvania "indefinite" as between Virginia and Pennsylvania. Actually the boundaries of the county extended only to the westerly branch of the Youghiogheny river to the southwest and no farther west than the Ohio river at Fort Pitt. However, when the county was laid out into townships boundary descriptions read "westward to the limits of the province" showing how uncertain were ideas of just what territory was to be included.

Somewhat vaguely Old Westmoreland included all of Western Pennsylvania which had been purchased from

the Indians and that which had not but was counted part of the original grant of Pennsylvania.

Hannastown, now only a memory, was the county seat.

Titles to land in many sections were insecure. The uncertainty was taken advantage of by Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia. This man also was known as John Murray and had been governor of New York. He was a bittery Tory and a selfish rogue. In fact his oppression of the Virginia colonists was such that it sped the revolt against Great Britain in Virginia, long considered a most loyal colony.

In 1773 Dunmore sent Dr. John Connolly to take over Pittsburgh and surrounding territory for Virginia. Connolly, of course, had the assistance of Virginia settlers in this move. They feared for the titles to their land.

Fort Pitt became Fort Dunmore.

Connolly's forces were of a low type. They looted homes and acted as outlaws generally.

Arthur St. Clair, a Pennsylvania justice living at Ligonier, had Connolly arrested, tried at Ligonier and committed to the log jail at Hannastown. He gave bail and went to Staunton, Augusta county, Virginia, where he was appointed a Virginia justice of the peace. It was claimed by the Virginia authorities that Fort Dunmore was in that county and most of that section now included in Pennsylvania's southwestern right angle was called the West Augusta district.

Connolly returned and interfered with the courts at Hannastown, appointing a Virginia sheriff, but finally agreed to allow the justices to act in civil matters until he should receive contrary instruction from Virginia.

Justices Alex McFarland, Devereaux Smith and Aeneas Mackay, influential friends of the Penns, opposed the inroads of this Virginia usurper. Connolly had the three arrested and sent to Staunton in irons. Mackay, the Pittsburgh justice, received permission to go to Williamsburg, the capital, to lay the matter before Governor Dunmore. As a result the justices were allowed to return home. They immediately resumed holding court at Hannastown.

Between the Indian menace and the uncertainty as to titles for their land many of the settlers in the section returned east in 1774. The Virginians opened offices for the sale of lands at a price much below that of the Pennsylvania Proprietaries.

Governor Dunmore established three courts in the region, two south of the Monongahela and one north of Redstone fort (near Brownsville) which he called Fort Burd.

The courts of the District of West Augusta were held in Pittsburgh regularly until the fall of 1776, when the Virginia territory was divided into three counties, Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia. Pittsburgh was in Yohogania county.

In the meantime rumors of a union between Connolly's forces and the Indians kept the people in a constant uproar. Repeatedly they would rush to the shelter of forts built here and there in the country—Ligonier, Hannastown, Kittanning, Shippen, Allen and Palmer. Rangers were organized for protection of the settlers. Twenty were posted at Turtle Creek; 20 at Bullock's Pens, seven miles east of Pittsburgh; 30 at Hannastown; 20 at Proctor's, now St. Vincent's College, and 20 at Ligonier.

Dunmore, himself, at the head of an army, came to Pittsburgh and demanded submission to his county government. After a month the army floated down the

Ohio in barges, keelboats and flatboats. The high-handed attitude of the forces which fired recklessly at friendly and unfriendly Indians alike, brought about a terrific warfare around the Big Kanawha and Ohio rivers.

Cornstalk, chief of the Shawnees, came within a day's maneuvering of cutting to pieces an army under Colonel Lewis, which was awaiting Dunmore's aid from Fort Pitt. The Indians, however, were compelled to retreat into the Ohio country. Dunmore, after Lewis' victory, treated with the Indians and returned to Virginia.

Connolly, however, remained.

The jail at Hannastown was broken into by his forces on several occasions. Justices Hanna and Cavett were imprisoned at Fort Dunmore for three months. Later Virginia sent Captain John Neville to take command of Fort Dunmore or Fort Pitt—the name depending on where allegiance lay.

Still the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania did nothing. The Thirteen Colonies had broken with the mother country in the meantime.

The Continental Congress recommended that all forces be dismissed, but Virginia persisted.

Connolly carried on with a high hand. Finally St. Clair rearrested him and again took him to Ligonier, proposing to send him to Philadelphia. Violent demonstrations by his friends who feared their Virginia titles to land imperilled compelled St. Clair to let him go free. He fled to Portsmouth, Virginia.

Dunmore, too, had fled to the British man-of-war Fowney. He escaped punishment by entering the British service. Connolly was arrested at Fredericksburg with papers showing he was in conspiracy with General Gage to raise a force of British loyalists and with Indian allies proposed to seize the region west of the Alleghenies.

A GENEROUS ACT

The long drawn out controversy between Virginia and Pennsylvania which began in 1748 when the Ohio Land company was given its ground, was drawing to a close.

The Indian trade in that section had been ruined by the altercations between the settlers of the two colonies. Finally in 1779 George Bryan, John Ewing and David Rittenhouse for Pennsylvania and Rev. James Madison, Rev. Robert Andrews and Thomas Lewis, for Virginia, met in Baltimore, and arrived at an agreement which they reported to the assemblies of their respective states.

This agreement was

> To extend the Mason and Dixon line due west five degrees of longitude, to be computed from the river Delaware, for the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and that a meridian drawn from the western extremity thereof to the northern line of said State to be the western line of said State forever.

Pennsylvania's assembly ratified the agreement at once. Virginia held back until the folowing summer and in the meantime granted hundreds of "Virginia certificates". Many of the titles to the land in Fayette and Washington counties are based upon these "Virginia Certificates". General Washington's title to over a thousand acres in Mount Pleasant township, Washington county, was based on such a certificate.

Virginia would not agree unless these certificates were recognized by Pennsylvania.

Then Pennsylvania did a fine patriotic thing. The Assembly said

> Resolved, That although the conditions annexed by the legislature of Virginia to the ratification of the boundary line agreed to by the commissioners of Pennsylvania and Virginia on the thirty-first of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, may tend to countenance some unwarrantable claims which may be made under the

> state of Virginia, in consequence of pretended purchases or settlements pending the controversy, yet this state determining to give the world the most unequivocal proof of their earnest desire to promote peace and harmony with a sister state so necessary during this great contest against a common enemy do agree to the conditions proposed by the state of Virginia in their resolves of the twenty-third day of June last, etc.

Danger of having the area under dispute organized into a separate state was averted, although the Pennsylvania assembly was compelled to adopt an act making such activities treason. Much later, in 1861, that portion of the territory under consideration lying below the Mason and Dixon line and in the "Pan Handle" adopted the motto "Montani semper liberi" (Mountaineers are always freemen) and cut loose from the seceding state of Virginia to form West Virginia, loyal to the original union.

To return to 1780, Pennsylvania's splendid gesture abated the condition of armed resistance between settlers in the Keystone and Old Dominion states.

The work of extending the Mason and Dixon line was begun. Stones were placed with P on the north side and V on the south. Commissioners from both states did this by astronomy. They included David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter for Pennsylvania and Andrew Ellicott and Joseph Neville for Virginia.

One party went to the point near the Delaware where the line began. The other went to the western terminus of the temporary line. They adjusted their chronometers for several weeks.

When they met they found a difference of one and one-eighths seconds.

This was adjusted and the following year (bad weather delaying them) they ran the western boundary. This is 80 degrees, 31 minutes, 08.20 seconds longitude.

The record is dated August 23, 1785. Other commissions from time to time, resurveyed the right angle.

The southwest corner of Pennsylvania was marked with a square stone monument about 18 inches square at the ground, tapering to 11 inches at the top. The height above the surface was about three feet, six inches. It was marked north 1883, east P, west W.V., south, W.V. These markings were placed by commissions from Pennsylvania and West Virginia in 1883.

The undetermined territory in the southwest beyond Old Westmoreland became Washington (for George Washington) county in 1781, Fayette (for Marquis de la Fayette) in 1783, Allegheny (for Indian Allegewi, identified with Talligeque, "People of the Cave Country") in 1788, and Greene (for General Nathaniel Greene) in 1796. Later, of course, other counties were established along the western border northward as well as the interior.

The cross-roads of the nation, within Pennsylvania's southwest right angle, through which passed the horde of settlers who made the great west, remained a part of the Keystone state, north of slave holding Dixie.

6

THE COUNTY THAT FAILED

AMONG the many land disputes chronicled in United States history there probably are none as strange as those of Pennsylvania.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary War the state contained two counties both named Westmoreland. One Westmoreland, in the northeastern area, was established by Connecticut. The other Westmoreland was Pennsylvania's own, west of the Alleghenies. Incidentally the only other Westmoreland county in the United States is in Virginia. George Washington was born at Wakefield, Westmoreland county, Virginia.

Ousting the Yankee Westmoreland in the northeast was even bloodier than removing Virginia's West Augusta claims in the southwest, which was far from pleasant. Both were important chapters in national history and established far reaching precedents.

The details of the extinguishing of the Yankee

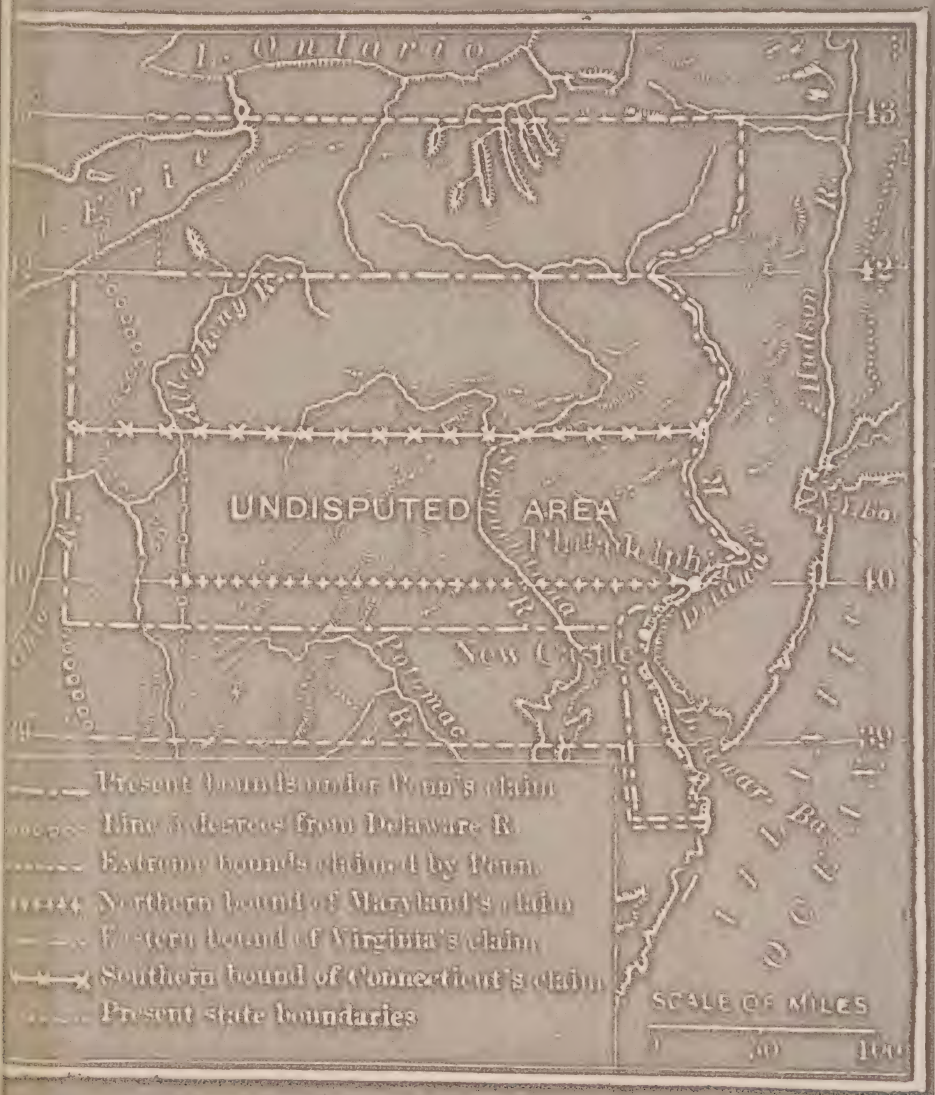
TERRITORY drained by the Susquehanna river in beautiful Wyoming valley (now Luzerne and other northeastern Pennsylvania counties) once was known as Westmoreland county.

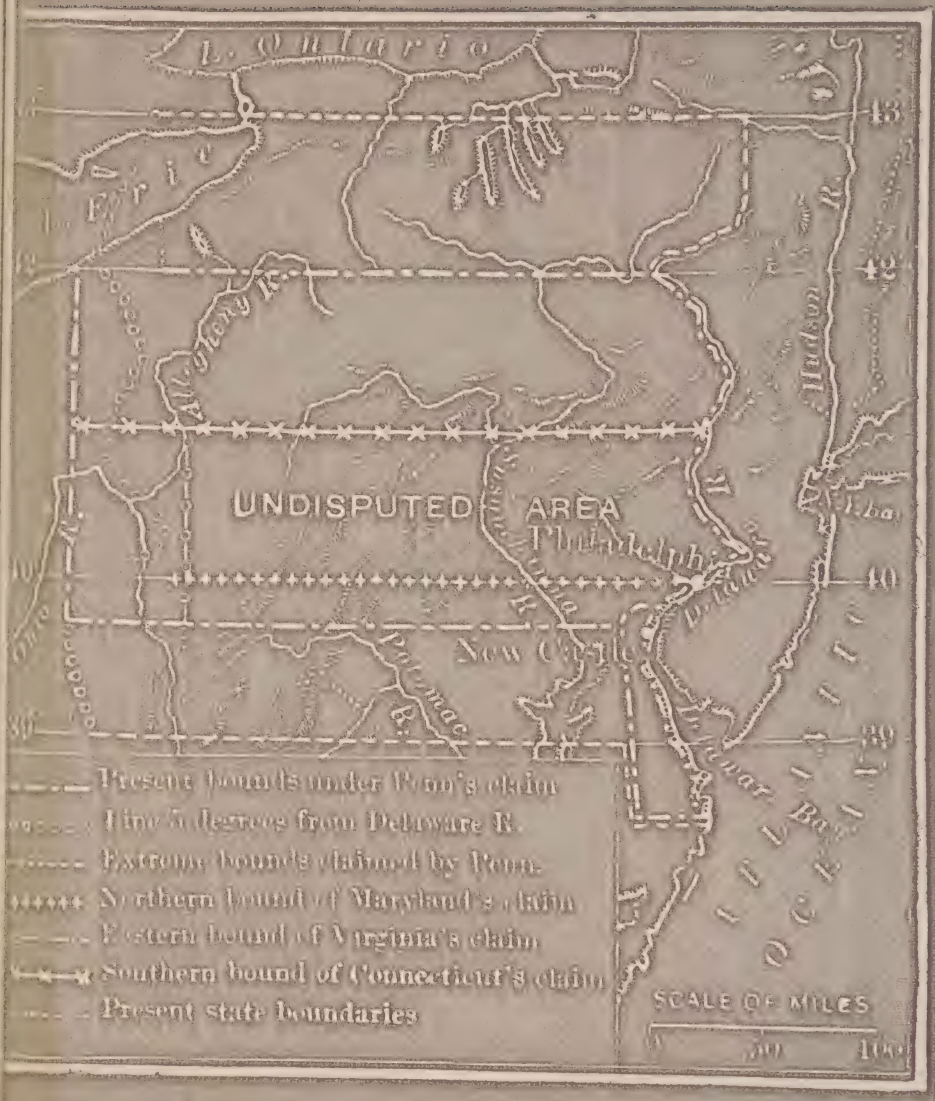
This county was a part of Connecticut.

The original grant of land to the New England colonies from Charles II included all unsettled territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans. New York was in between and settled, so the Yankees jumped over into the unsettled regions of country claimed by William Penn and his heirs.

The Delaware Indians counted the valley as part of their possessions. They built a village called Waiomink in a beautiful meadow. But the Six Nations said it was theirs by right of conquest. Such a prize with so many claimants to ownership, was bound to produce bloodshed.

Present boun
Line of decre
Extreme bou
Northern bou
Eastern boun
Southern bou
Present state


L. Ontario
L. Erie
Allegheny R.
Hudson R.
UNDISPUTED AREA
Philadelphia
New Castle
Potomac R.
Delaware Bay
Present bounds under Penn's claim
Line 5 degrees from Delaware R.
Extreme bounds claimed by Penn
Northern bound of Maryland's claim
Western bound of Virginia's claim
Southern bound of Connecticut's claim
Present state boundaries
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100


L. Ontario
Erie
Lake Erie
Western R.
Hudson R.
UNDISPUTED AREA
Philadelphia
New Castle
Potomac R.
Delaware Bay
43
42
41
40
39
Present bounds under Penn's claim
Line 5 degrees from Delaware R.
Extreme bounds claimed by Penn
Northern bound of Maryland's claim
Eastern bound of Virginia's claim
Southern bound of Connecticut's claim
Present state boundaries
SCALE OF MILES
100

Map Showing
The
Boundary Claims
in
Pennsylvania
From a History of
Pennsylvania
by
Dr. Thomas Stone March

Photostat

From

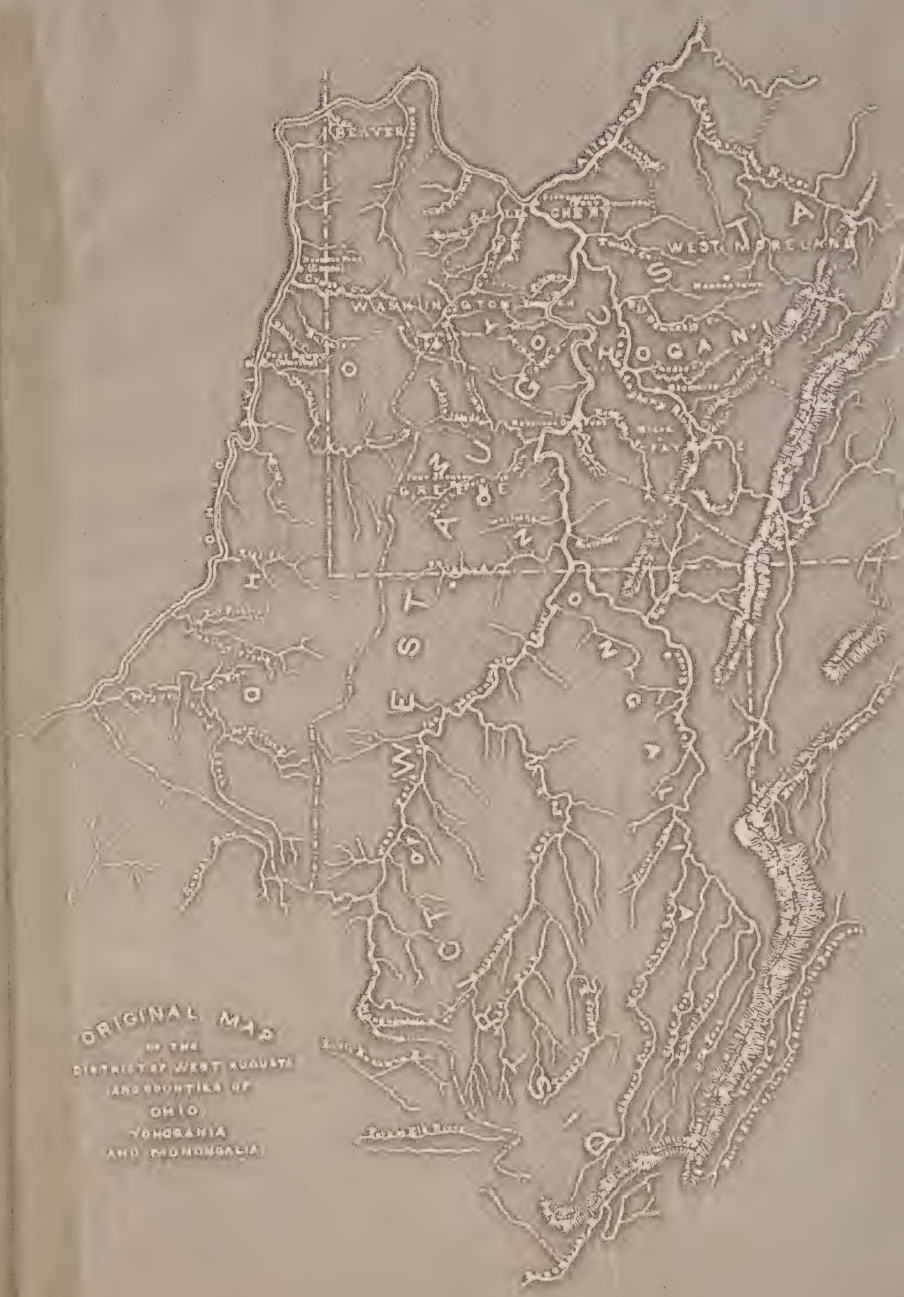
Annals of

Carnegie Museum

Reprint
from
Annals of
Carnegie Museum

ORIGINAL MAP
OF THE
DISTRICT OF WEST AUGUSTA
AND COUNTIES OF
OHIO
YOHOGANIA
AND MONONGALIA

ORIGINAL MAP
OF THE
BOUNDARIES OF
AND COUNTIES OF
OHIO
AS ORGANIZED
AND ADMINISTERED
BY
THE NORTHWEST
TERRITORY
1787
WEST
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
KENTUCKY
INDIANA
MICHIGAN


BEAVER
CREEK
WASHINGTON
WEST MORELAND
ALLEGHANY
MONONGAHELA
OHIO
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
ORIGINAL MAP
OF THE
DISTRICT OF WEST AUGUSTA
AND FRONTIER OF
OHIO
VIRGINIA
AND PENNSYLVANIA

Westmoreland are none too pretty. It fell to the lot of John Penn, grandson of the founder, to fight this dismal conflict. Further information may be obtained with authoritative references in "Pennsylvania, A History", by George P. Donehoo, and Shepherd's History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania with additional notes by Dr. Richard E. Day.

The Yankees bought this land from drunken chiefs for 2,000 pounds, and established a bit of a settlement known as the Delaware Company in what is now Wayne county. The purchase was never ratified by the women of the clans effected. Indian councils denied legality of the sale in 1755, 1758 and 1763. A more extensive settlement was attempted a few years later by the Susquehanna Company. Delaware Indian tribes wiped out these settlements during the Pontiac uprising in 1763, the same year Colonel Bouquet vanquished Guyasuta at Bushy Run in the Western Pennsylvania Westmoreland county.

For half a dozen years the valley was deserted by white and red men alike.

By the Fort Stanwix treaty in 1768 the Penn heirs received title to this section of the state from the Six Nations for lands "in the forks of the Susquehanna" and extension of the western boundary of Pennsylvania to the Allegheny. The Indians did not bother about the ethics of selling land they had sold once before, although later the Iroquois took this as an excuse for the massacre of 1778.

Settlers from Connecticut and Pennsylvania swarmed into the valley. The clash between the Puritans and the Quakers, which ensued, is called the Yankee-Pennamite War. The county established by the Yankees was called Westmoreland by them. Representatives were sent to the Connecticut legislature.

However, the "war" actually was a contest between the proprietors of the Susquehanna company and the Pennsylvania Proprietaries.

In 1771 the Pennsylvania assembly petitioned the Crown to abolish the proprietary, soon forgotten, but a refusal to have anything to do with the Connecticut folk remained, since the same did not effect the general government, but only the proprietaries.

The bloodshed was none the less extensive, especially around the sections where Wilkesbarre, Sunbury and Muncy now are located. The invaders appeared to be victorious.

When the Revolution began some of the strife was forgotten, because of the common purpose to achieve Colonial independence. But the lure of the Wyoming region was not removed and settlers continued to pour into the section.

A pall of gloom hung over the disputed country after the great Wyoming massacre of July 3, 1778, perpetrated by the Indians at the instigation of the British and fanned by rancor at "Connecticut trespassing".

The first question of titles to land in the confederated states before seven United States Commissioners meeting in Trenton in 1782 was this dispute.

The decision was in favor of Pennsylvania.

The fighting between settlers over the validity of titles continued for a little while longer. Final adjustment came in 1800.

Thirty years of strife, turmoil and events more tragic than most others in the annals of Pennsylvania, involving Indians, claimants from Connecticut and bitter incidents of the American Revolution, marked the development of this region now so rich in anthracite coal mining.

Had Connecticut's claim been held valid and had Maryland's and Virginia's claims been upheld it readily will be seen that Pennsylvania would have been but a strip compared with its present area. The map of these boundary disputes is a picture to study.

To visualize the claim of Connecticut under its "sea to sea" charter follow the parallel of 42 degrees North latitude, which is the approximate northern boundary of the Nutmeg state, and you will find it falls on the northern boundary line of Pennsylvania further west. Taking the southern boundary of Connecticut as the parallel of 41 degrees you will find when you get to Pennsylvania just about how far south came the New England state's claim in the Keystone state.

And of course, if you extend the northern and southern boundaries of Massachusetts westward you will find the territory included which is now western New York and understand the Bay state's claims under a "sea to sea" charter, which is mentioned in the chapter in this book having to do with Pennsylvania's "chimney."

* * *

Interesting as may be the accounts of the colonial and Revolutionary days in the northeastern section of Pennsylvania, the story is not complete without a reference to the development of the gigantic anthracite coal industry.

There was a "Lehigh Coal Mine Company" as early as 1792. Some of the coal was shipped to Philadelphia but attempts to burn it failed and the coal was spread upon the park walks instead of gravel. William Turnbull shipped an "ark" containing several hundred bushels of coal to Philadelphia. A water works manager rejected it as

> unmanageable, and its character for the time being blasted.

Commencement of its use for commercial use probably dates authoritatively to Judge Jesse Fell, who made an experiment in the barroom of his hotel at Wilkes-Barre, and wrote on the fly leaves of a book entitled "The Free Mason's Monitor."

> February 11th, of Masonry 5808. Made the experiment of burning the common stone coal of the valley in a grate in a common fireplace in my house, and find it will answer

the purpose of fuel, making a clearer and better fire at less expense than burning wood in the common way. February 11th, 1808.

He tells the story more completely in a letter written to his cousin, Jonathan Fell, treasurer of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, 18 years later.

Wilkesbarre, Dec. 1st, 1826.

Esteemed Cousin:

When I saw thee last I believe I promised to write thee and give some data about the first discovery and use of Stone Coal in our valley. (I call it stone coal because everybody knows what is meant by that name.)

The late Judge Gore in his lifetime, informed me that he and his brother, the late Capt. Daniel Gore (both being blacksmiths), were the first that discovered and used this coal in their blacksmith's fires, and found it to answer this purpose well. This was before the Revolutionary War, and as near as I can collect the information, about the year 1770 or 1771, and it has been in use by the blacksmiths of the place.

In the year 1788, I used it in a nailery, and found it to be profitable in that business. The nails made with it would neal the weights of the rods and frequently a balance over. But it was the opinion of those that worked it in their furnaces that it would not do for fuel because when a small parcel was left on their fires and not blown, it would go out. Notwithstanding this opinion prevailed, I had for some time entertained the idea that if a sufficient body of it was ignited, it would burn. Accordingly, in the month of February, 1808, I procured a grate made of small iron rods, ten inches in depth and ten inches in height, and set it up in my common room fireplace, and on first lighting it found it to burn exceedingly well.

This was the first successful attempt to burn our stone coal in a grate so far as my knowledge extends.

On its being put in operation my neighbors flocked to see the novelty, but many would not believe the fact until convinced by ocular demonstration.

Such was the effect of this pleasing discovery that in a few days there were a number of grates in operation. This brought the stone coal into popular notice.

I need not notice the many uses to which it may be applied, as you who are in the coal concern have the means of knowing its value.

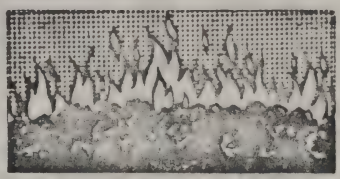
I find we have various qualities of coal, but our best specimens are said to be superior to many yet known, and we have it in sufficient quantity to supply the world.

Here it is—but the best way of getting it to the market is yet to be discovered. The market at present is down the Susquehanna River, but great improvements must be made in the river ere it can be a safe and sure conveyance. Looking forward, Wilkes-Barre is but eleven miles from Lehigh below the junction of all the creeks you pass from Pokono to Wilkes-Barre mountain. This I suppose is known and I believe the principal transport of our coal will in time pass down the Lehigh; but this I do not expect to live to see.

I am thy affectionate cousin, Jesse Fell

Jonathan Fell.

The wonder of the development of the "Black Diamonds" of Pennsylvania, thus, began in a small grate in that long ago tavern tap room.



7

HOW THE ERIE TRIANGLE GAVE THE MAP OF PENNSYLVANIA A CHIMNEY

ERIE County geographically and historically lies adjacent to what once was the Northwest Territory.

The portion of the United States known in history as the Northwest Territory comprised all the country lying between the Ohio river, the Mississippi river and the Great Lakes immediately west of Pennsylvania.

It included the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Daniel Webster called the ordinance for the government of this territory the "greatest state paper in the history of the United States". Among other provisions it included abolishment of slavery.

It is interesting to note that Thomas Jefferson had proposed to call the states to be carved from this dis-

IT IS appropriate for a state with so many mills and factories to have a chimney as part of its map to let out the smoke of industry and commerce. Pennsylvania's chimney has the finest harbor on Lake Erie at the city of Erie. Here the state comes in touch with the Great Lakes, whose "unsalted seas" carry the "busiest water borne commerce in the world".

The harbor is land-locked, and on a bay of the lake, four and one-half miles long by half a mile wide, separated from the main waters by a peninsula known to the French as Presque Isle. This peninsula now is a magnificent state park.

* * *

In the bay, within 70 days, was built the small fleet of Commodore Oliver Hazard Per-

7

trict Sylvania, Michigania, Cheronesus, Assenisipia, Mesopotamia, Illinoia, Washington, Polypotamia and Pelisipia.

No one can grasp the process of America's growth without a study of the Ordinance of 1787. Pennsylvania, because of her geographical position and natural resources, profited as much or more than any of original states by the statute.

Among authorities consulted for the sketch adjoining were "The Penns of Pennsylvania" by Arthur Pound and the Encyclopedic Index of "Messages and Papers of the Presidents".

ry, which gave him his great victory over the British fleet on the Great Lakes during the War of 1812. His famous report of that affair,

> We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop,

adds thrilling historic interest.

* * *

Until after the Revolution what is now western New York was still Indian country, controlled by the powerful Iroquois. New York and Massachusetts both claimed the unsettled territory, the latter on the basis of the old sea to sea grants.

Early French explorers covered much of the territory although Father Bonnecamp's map does not include Presque Isle.

William Penn, the Pennsylvania founder, on his first visit to his province, made an effort to purchase the Susquehanna country lying south of the forty-third degree, extending from 40 miles north of Albany to Lake Erie. What happened is merely one demonstration of that strange alliance between a Catholic ruler of England and the greatest Quaker in history.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations, which maintained the liaison between the mother country and the colonies, took cognizance of this effort by advising Governor Dongan of New York to "hang on" so that nothing more "go away to Mr. Penn or either of the Jerseys".

Thomas Dongan, who is remembered chiefly in New York history for his Charter of Liberty and Privileges, won over the Iroquois at Albany with presents.

Announcing the purchase of the land from the Indians he wrote to Penn

> you and I shall not fall out; I desire we may join heartily together to advance the interests of my master and your good friend.

"My master and your good friend" was James II, like Dongan, a Catholic. In spite of Dongan's excellent record as governor a Quaker had more influence at court, a Quaker who didn't forget.

A few years later Dongan wrote to the king

> Mr. Penn has written that I am to be recalled home and I do not doubt he will do all he can to effect it, having no great kindness to me because I did not consent to his buying the Susquehanna Valley.

The Quaker had his way in unseating the co-religionist of the king.

Until after the Revolution, Penn's heirs made claims, which they never pressed, providing for the 43rd degree parallel of north latitude as the northern boundary of Pennsylvania. This would have taken the entire eastern shore of Lake Erie and extended 40 miles north of Albany.

There was little difficulty, nevertheless, for Commissioners David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter, of Pennsylvania, and Philip Schuyler, James Clinton and Simeon De Witt, of New York, to determine that the northern boundary line should be along the 42nd degree parallel of north latitude. This was in 1786.

To settle the dispute between New York and Massachusetts the territory along the shore of eastern Lake Erie was turned over to the national government. The

colonies had become states and the land grabbing energy was directed toward establishing a union of the states.

By the provisions of the famous Northwestern Ordinance in 1787 all land between the 13 original states and the Mississippi river became the property of the federal government. The Ordinance promised to divide the land into new states, when the population was sufficient, on a parity with the original states. Money obtained by the sale of land to homesteaders was used to supplement federal taxes.

This is how our nation of 13 states started on its way to numbering 48.

Pennsylvania had only a point on the shore of Lake Erie under the first surveys. The northwest corner on Lake Erie was a right angle just like the southwestern. Pennsylvania, by permission of the federal government, purchased a section from the Indians, who claimed ownership to all land north of the Ohio river.

Later the state confirmed its title to the 202,187 acres of the Erie Triangle by paying $151,640.25 in Continental scrip to the United States government.

The new purchase was added to Allegheny county until later split into other counties.

The Pennsylvania legislature proposed to lay out a town at Presque Isle in the newly acquired territory about 1794. The Indians were encouraged to interfere by the British, remaining in forts along the Great Lakes until debts, so they said, owed British subjects by Americans were paid.

Governor Thomas Mifflin applied to President George Washington for one thousand troops to protect the state's commissioners, who had been authorized to lay out the town of Erie.

Treaties with the Indians prevented further trouble and the following year Presque Isle (Erie), Le Boeuf (Waterford), and Venango (Franklin), were laid out.

8

THE "MINUTE MEN OF THE WEST" AND GUNPOWDER

MOST historians tell you that the Revolution was won in the east with Valley Forge as the low point. The west was all low points. Later on in this book you will find that the last act of the Revolution was the burning of a log courthouse and the torturing of white people by the Indians, west of the Appalachians.

Life on the frontier, west of the Alleghenies, during the Revolution was an inglorious hazard to the participants. When they won a battle there was no presenting of swords as a symbol of victory. When they lost there was only torture and death.

The two gunpowder expeditions herewith presented were every day examples of the marvelous intrepidity displayed by the pioneers fighting for freedom in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles.

One of the principals in each expedition became the

THE Ranger method of defense made it imperative for settlers west of the Alleghenies during the Revolution to have a supply of gunpowder on hand.

"Minute men of the West" responded to calls from any community striken by Indian attacks.

Nearly all the gunpowder used was brought over the mountains from the east on packhorses.

As a result it was high in price. It generally was paid for by furs and skins at Hannastown, Pittsburgh or Ligonier, all in Pennsylvania, although claimed by Virginia.

The alliance between the British and the Indians had ruined the fur trade. Why should the Indians trap and hunt when in the employ of the British army, and bountifully supplied with blankets,

founder of a city in the Ohio country, returning to the place he had catalogued as desirable when passing through the dangers which beset him on all sides.

The difference a few years made in the tide of immigration is to be noted. The first expedition met settlers fleeing from Kentucky to Fort Pitt to avoid danger of annihilation by the Indians. The second expedition was accompanied by two boat loads of settlers going to Kentucky.

It was the irony of fate that the first venture, seemingly facing greater odds than the second, should have been successful, while the second met with catastrophe. There are no exploits elsewhere in the history of Revolutionary days to match these, east or west. These men were citizens of West Augusta District, Virginia, but they lived in what was really southwestern Pennsylvania.

This narrative is based on accounts presented by John W. Boucher in his "Old and New Westmoreland" and by E. W. Hassler in "Old Westmoreland", who, in turn, got their information from original sources.

firearms, ammunition and whiskey?

The stock of gun powder in the east was none too plentiful. General George Washington's forces had to be supplied. Shipments westward became fewer.

In 1776 the situation became acute.

The western forts realized that prompt action was required to prevent annihilation of the district.

A daring plan evolved and successfully carried through by Captain George Gibson and Lieutenant William Linn relieved the perilous situation.

It meant a 4,000 mile journey by water but was considered preferable to the shorter and more expensive packhorse trek over the mountains.

Gibson was the son of a Lancaster tavernkeeper, and with his brother, John, dealt in furs in Pittsburgh. He had made several sea voyages. He had traveled extensively among the Indians in the west.

Linn was a Marylander and had survived the Braddock disaster. He settled at what now is Fayette City. He served in the battles with the Indians under Major Angus McDonald in Dunmore's War.

The two officers, upon the outbreak of the Revolution, had raised a company and entered the war as part of a Virginia regiment. Virginia deputized them for home defense in the Monongahela valley and gave official sanction to their plan to travel to New Orleans, 2,000 miles away, for a supply of gunpowder.

Enlisting 15 hardy young pioneers, known during the "Dunmore war" as "Gibson's Lambs", and noted for their fierceness in battle with the Indians, the two officers built flatboats on the Monongahela for their arduous journey down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. They started July 19, 1776, heartened by news of the Declaration of Independence, which had come across the mountains from Philadelphia.

It was a hazardous undertaking.

The Ohio was lined with Shawnees, Wabash and Miami Indians. Should the British forces at Detroit and other western posts learn of their errand, there could be little hope of a successful return.

Fort Pitt and the Ohio country had many British spies.

Officers and men were clad in the homespun garments of the time, and thus were "cloaked" as traders to the western country. Of course, they carried the usual rifles, tomahawks, and knives. The "traders" met parties of settlers returning to Fort Pitt to escape from Indian atrocities in Ohio and Kentucky. They saw many savages but were not molested. The "traders" passed the English fort at Natchez at night. In about five weeks they were in New Orleans.

Louisana then was under Spanish control with Don Louis de Unzaga in command. Oliver Pollock, formerly of Philadelphia, was a leading merchant there. The "traders" carried letters to Pollock and other friendly merchants.

The Spanish, of course, were neutral, but were not averse to assist embarrassing their ancient enemy, the British, if opportunity afforded.

Twelve thousand pounds of powder were purchased for $1,800. One fourth of the gunpowder was put in boxes and marked as merchandise. This was placed on board a sailing vessel.

In the meantime English spies had discovered the object of the party in New Orleans.

Captain Gibson was arrested by the Spaniards upon British insistence.

But his guard was lax, even helpful!

One night he "escaped" from the ship on which he was imprisoned to that on which was the powder, which he later took over the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic ocean to Philadelphia.

The remainder of the gunpowder which the men had purchased was turned over to Lieutenant Linn, who proposed to take it to Pittsburgh by the same route over which the "traders" had come. If all of it had been sent to Philadelphia it would have meant transportation to Western Pennsylvania over the mountain by packhorse at great expense. The primary object of the expedition was to avoid this.

Lieutenant Linn hired a score of additional boatmen to assist him in his return home. His 9,000 pounds of gunpowder was placed in casks and smuggled at night to barges tied in a concealed cove to the north of the city.

In September, 1776, Linn and his men started up the Mississippi. It was slow work travelling against the current of the stream. When Linn and his party and cargo reached the falls of the Ohio, now Louisville, it

was necessary to unload the casks and carry them to the head of the falls. The barges were dragged up and over the falls by means of ropes. Freezing weather added to the delay. The party was compelled to wait until the river ice thawed in the springtime before the journey could be resumed.

It was not until May 2, 1777, that the valuable cargo was turned over to David Shepherd, lieutenant of Ohio county, Virginia, at Fort Henry, where Wheeling now stands.

Gibson, in the meantime, had reached Philadelphia, and sent word to Pittsburgh that Linn was returning by the river route. Fort Pitt (the Virginia name, Fort Dunmore, did not persist) authorities ordered a hundred men to proceed down the river to meet Linn. This force was only ready to start when Linn was reported at Wheeling.

Shepherd, by a strong guard, conveyed the powder to Pittsburgh, where Post Commander William Crawford stored it in the brick vaulted magazine of the fort.

In spite of the misunderstanding between Pennsylvania and Virginia, the latter colony paid for the shipment. Crawford said it was "for the use of the continent".

Part of it was distributed among the Rangers in and around Fort Pitt and to soldiers ready to be mustered into Continental service in Westmoreland county.

The stock lasted until 1778 and supplied Colonel George Rogers Clark for his famous expedition into the Illinois country to chastise the Indians, who had materially assisted the British in waging warfare on the frontiers.

Both Gibson and Linn were promoted and granted extra pay for their daring exploits.

As a lieutenant colonel in St. Clair's army during the

campaign against the Indians in the Northwest Territory Gibson was wounded on November 4, 1791. He died a few days later during the retreat to what now is Cincinnati. Captain Gibson was the father of George Bannister Gibson, who was a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania from 1816 to 1833.

Lieutenant Linn, after other services during the Revolution, went back to the falls of the Ohio, which country he had explored while waiting for the ice to melt on his way home from New Orleans. He settled at what now is Louisville, Kentucky. On his way to court in November, 1781, he was killed by Indians. He was the grandfather of Lewis Fields Linn, United States senator from Missouri 1833 to 1843.

Thrilling as was this exploit, a similar attempt with an unhappy ending was staged in 1778.

Powder again was scarce.

Virginia ordered a second expedition to New Orleans.

This time the powder was purchased by letter from Oliver Pollock and shipped by the Spaniards to St. Louis.

Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, named David Rogers, of Redstone, now Brownsville, to conduct the expedition. Rogers was a former justice of the Virginia courts and was a member of the Revolutionary committee. He gathered 40 young men, most of whom had seen military service.

In the party was Basil Brown, son of Thomas Brown, who founded Brownsville.

Rogers too, floated his flatboats down the Monongahela to the Ohio and the Mississippi.

Immigration again had faced westward. Two boats carrying settlers to Kentucky accompanied him.

Rogers had not been informed that the powder was at St. Louis and drifted down to a Spanish fort on the Arkansas river before he learned of this arrangement.

Six of his command proceeded to New Orleans and were given the proper papers authorizing the party to lift the powder. These six left New Orleans for the Arkansas river by an overland route through southern swamps and forests, because of the danger of passing the English fort at Natchez.

Eventually the entire force was back in St. Louis, where Don Francisco de Leyba commanded.

Secretly the powder was transferred to the boats and the heavily laden barges made their slow way up the Ohio river.

When near the place where Cincinnati now stands the party saw some Indians in canoes a mile away. Rogers thought his crafts had not been observed. He planned to capture the savages and destroy their village. So he moored his boats in the mouth of Licking river, at the site of the present Newport, Kentucky.

It was a trap.

The few Indians seen on the river were decoys.

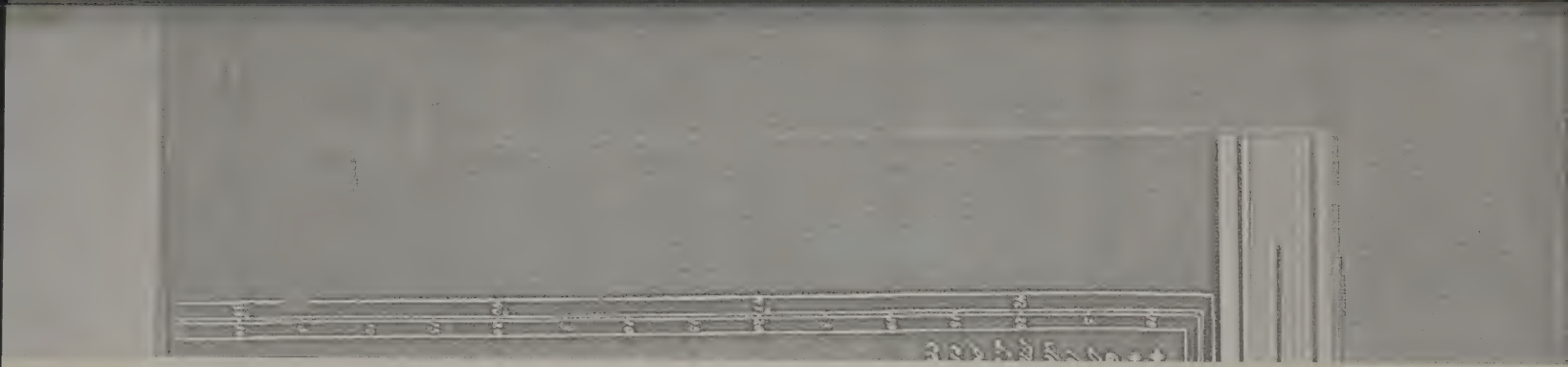
Soon Roger's entire party was surrounded.

The savages were commanded by Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, white renegades of unsavory historical reputation.

All but thirteen of the Rogers party were killed.

Captain Rogers was wounded and aided by John Knotts, was concealed in a ravine nearby where he died the next day.

Robert Benham, a commissary, was shot through



LAC ERIE
L'Ohio
Belle
CARTE
DUN VOYAGE FAIT
DANS
LA BELLE RIVIERE
EN LA NOUVELLE FRANCE
M. DCC XLIX

LAC ERIE
Pointe Pelée
Isles aux Serpents
Pointe aux Pommes
Lac Ste Claire
Village de Loups
Plate 1
Plate 2
Plate 3
Plate 4
Plate 5
Plate 6
Plate 7
Plate 8
RIVIERE
BELLE
L'OHIO
CARTE
DUN VOYAGE FAIT
DANS
LA BELLE RIVIERE
EN LA NOUVELLE FRANCE
M. DCC XLIX.

EXPLANATION OF FATHER BONNECAMP'S MAP

The map is a reduced copy of a part of Father Bonnecamp's manuscript map of the route of Celeron's expedition, now deposited in the archives of the Department de la Marine in Paris.

First three lines in upper left hand corner of map with symbols signify in the order printed:

Indicates the places where leaden plates were buried

Points where latitudes and longitudes were observed

Sites of Indian villages

The degrees of longitude are west of the meridian of Paris, and are indicated by the figures in the outer division of the scales on the eastern and western extremities of the map. Those on the inner divisions are leagues, in the proportion of twenty to a degree. French names, with the corresponding American Designations.

R Aux Pommes	Apple River. Chautauqua Creek.
Lac Tjadikoin	Lake Chautauqua
R. Kananougon	Conewango Creek
La Paille Coupee	Broken Straw Creek
Village de Loups	Village of Loup Indians, called by the English, Munceys
R. Aux Boeufs	French Creek (Beef or Buffalo River).
R. au Vermillion	
R. Au Fiel	Gall River. Clarion River
Attique	Kittanning
R. Kanououara	Wheeling Creek
Ancien Village de Chaounons	Ancient Village of Shawnese
R. de Sinhiota	Scioto River
Village de Chinigue	Logstown
Fort des Miamis	Site of Fort Wayne

Map of a Voyage made on the Beautiful River, in New France. 1749, by Rev. Father Bonnecamp, Jesuit Mathematician.

The English translation of Toute cette partie de lac n'est inconue is "All this part of the lake is unknown."

both legs, but concealed himself in the branches of a fallen tree. The Indians soon crossed over to the Ohio side of the river with their spoils. Benham, fearing their return, refrained from using his rifle until pressed by hunger. He shot a raccoon. Basil Brown, wounded in the right arm and left shoulder and unable to use his arms, lay in the brush nearby. He heard the shot and cautiously investigated. To his great joy he saw one of his comrades. The two men, instead of bewailing their fate, considered how they could remedy their predicament. These frontiersmen were fertile in expedients. They combined their two good arms and two good legs. Brown, using his feet, pushed and kicked the raccoon to Benham. Unable to move himself except by use of his arms and hands, Benham managed to build a fire, roasted the meat and fed his companion and himself. Benham put his folded hat between Brown's teeth, and, by wading into the river, Brown succeeded in filling it with water. He took it back to Benham, who, because of his wounds, was suffering intensely from thirst.

During succeeding days Brown chased rabbits, squirrels and wild turkeys within reach of Benham's carefully aimed rifle. While Brown was abroad flushing small game, Benham anxiously watched the river for a possible boat containing white men. This went on until the 19th day after the Indian attack a flatboat was descried floating down the river. Fortunately the crew heard Benham's frantic calls. The crew landed and took the unfortunate but resourceful men to Louisville. Both recovered and lived many years afterward. Brown remained in Brownsville, where he died in 1835, aged 75 years. Benham went back to the scene of his misfortune and purchased lands on the site where the disaster occurred. He, thus, became one of the founders of Newport, Kentucky.

9

BOTH COURT AND SPONSOR PASSED: THE WORK THEY BEGAN CARRIES ON

WHEN it is considered that the project to destroy Hannastown originated in Canada and Guyasuta who commanded the Indians probably was acting in pursuance of orders from British agents, it may consistently be said that the destruction of this frontier hamlet was the last act of the war in the Revolution.

Unfortunate events in the latter part of the brilliant St. Clair's life have minimized the story of the important part he played in the development of the country west of the Alleghenies. Perhaps his abilities were better adapted to presiding over a deliberative body such as the Continental Congress rather than in the woods fighting savages. His efforts to introduce civil instead of military law were uniformly successful and on that rests his fame. Much has been

WILLIAM Penn, when setting up his "Holy Experiment" in government in Pennsylvania included the English shire idea and started off with Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester counties. For years the Quakers controlled these counties. Fearing that the creation of additional counties in the province might endanger their control in the assembly the Quakers were slow to add such new bailiwicks. The proprietaries, too, delayed, for they wished to sell land in the already established counties before authorizing the creation of new ones.

Gradually as the land was purchased from the Indians and thrown open for sale and settlement, the tier of counties along the southern line of the state grew.

9

BOTH COURT AND SPONSOR PASSED: THE WORK THEY BEGAN CARRIES ON

printed about Hannastown as well as St. Clair. Most of the facts presented here were obtained from George Dallas Albert's "History of Westmoreland County". His book contains many references to original sources. He also was the author of "The Frontier Forts of Western Pennsylvania", which contains a complete account of Hannastown's rise and fall, with copious references. Pennsylvania Archives are the basis for many incidents touched.

Forty-seven years after the original three, came Lancaster county.

A score of years passed and then came York, with Cumberland the year following.

Cumberland had civil jurisdiction over practically all of what now is western Pennsylvania including the land purchased from the Indians at Fort Stanwix (now Rome, N. Y.) in 1768. Another score of years and Bedford was erected.

Bedford assumed civil control of the region west of the Alleghenies, but deputy sheriffs and justices found that the unruly fur traders and squatters cared little about efforts to preserve the peace as the civil law defined it. For them the tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye law of the savage wilderness prevailed.

The great Forbes military road, winding over three ranges of mountains from Bedford until it reached Pittsburgh, a hundred miles away, was the only connecting link with the west.

As immigration poured into the district west of Laurel Ridge after the Braddock and Forbes expeditions and the subjugation of the Indians at Bushy Run by Bouquet, hardy spirits went deeper into the wilderness of the Ohio river. The quantity of supplies needed by these adventuresome souls grew. Some semblance of a government which would include the outpost at Fort Pitt, was deemed necessary by the Penns.

The heavy immigration from Virginia was considered a menace to the authority of the Penns. A check on the influence of this colony was considered expedient.

Upon petition of settlers west of the Laurel Ridge, Westmoreland, the 11th and the last county under proprietary government, was established in 1773.

The leading spirit back of this petition was Arthur St. Clair, a Scotchman of noble birth.

St. Clair had served under the romantic Wolfe at Quebec, married the wealthy Phoebe Bayard, of Boston, and for a time commanded the fort at Ligonier. He became chief agent for the Penns in southwestern Pennsylvania. He was, perhaps, the man with the best education, the finest manner and the richest man west of the mountains in those days.

Among those who had established homesteads along the Forbes military road was Robert Hanna, a north of Ireland immigrant. He kept a public house and travellers stopped at his log cabin with its mud-filled chinks and its clapboard roof. A cluster of other cabins nearby gave the place the name of Hannastown. Because of its central location, but more largely because three of the five trustees named to locate a county seat lived there, Hannastown became the seat of government for the new county.

Here, then, was established the first place in what later became United States west of the Appalachian mountains where due process of English law was applied.

There was some dissatisfaction over the choice of a county seat.

Aneas Mackay, of Pittsburgh, one of the 26 justices of the court and justices of the peace named by Governor Richard Penn (his brother John Penn, was in England for a time) wrote to Arthur St. Clair

> Everybody up this way are well satisfied there is a county granted this side of the hills, altho' I find everybody else, as well as myself, observes with infinite concern that the

point in question is not attended with so favorable circumstances as we at this place had reason to expect from the nature of things. I cannot but express my surprise at the point determined in favor of the courts of law first sitting at Hanna's. Pray, may I ask you the question, where is the conveniency for transacting business on these occasions, as there is neither houses, tables, nor chairs? Certainly the people must sit at the roots of trees and stumps, and in case of rain the lawyers' books and papers must be exposed to the weather; yet to no purpose, as they cannot presume to write. Consequently, nothing can be done but that of receiving fees by which means everybody, the lawyers only excepted, going to or attending court, must be sufferers. No doubt Mr. Erwin and a few more of his party may find they are interested in this glaring stretch of partiality; yet, we, at this place in particular, are too much interested to overlook such proceedings in silence. The whole inhabitants exclaim against the step already taken to the injury of the country yet in its infancy, and that, too, before it got its eyes or tongue to speak for itself. My dear friend, if I had as much to say among the great as you, I would declare it as my opinion that it would be absolutely necessary that the trustees be nominated in Philadelphia, by which means I think we could not fail to have the point in question carried in our favor; whereas, should they be appointed by this way it is ten to one Joe Erwin, the tavern keeper, and his associates will prevail.

Justice Mackay was correct in his surmising.

Robert Hanna, when he became justice, did not think it seemly that he should continue as a tavern keeper, so he leased his tavern to Joseph Erwin.

These two, with Samuel Sloan, were the Hannastown members of the board of trustees appointed to choose a county seat. The other two trustees, George Wilson and John Cavett, favored Pittsburgh, Wilson, however, reported to Governor Penn that court would be held at Hanna's house until the unsettled state of the boundary could be settled.

St. Clair in spite of the ownership of a 592 acre

tract of land laid out fancifully as an octagon near Ligonier and not far from Hannastown, favored Pittsburgh, largely because he felt that something should be done to offset Virginia's claim to this important point.

St. Clair wrote a letter to Joseph Shippen, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in which he said

> This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Hanna, one of the trustees of Westmoreland county, and to some maneuver of his I believe the opposition to fixing the county town at Pittsburgh is chiefly owing, as it is to his interest that it should continue where the law has fixed the courts protempore; he lives there, used to keep a public house there and has now on that respect rented his house at an extravagant price. Erwin, another trustee, adjoins and is also a public house keeper. A third trustee, Sloan, lives in the neighborhood which always makes a majority for continuing the courts at the present place. A passage in the law erecting a county is that the courts shall be held at Hanna's house till a court house and a jail are built. This puts it in their power to continue them as long as they please for a little management might prevent the court house from being built these twenty years. Then you will excuse inaccuracies as I write in the greatest hurry, Mr. Hanna holding the horse while I write. I will see you early in the spring.

Little did Hanna suspect what the packet, entrusted to him as he rode over the mountains to the east, contained!

Hanna, Erwin and Sloan did just what the soldier predicted. No steps were taken to build a court house and courts were held at Robert Hanna's house for 14 years.

The report of the majority of the board of trustees to the governor read

> We being appointed trustees for the county of Westmoreland to make a report for a proper place, having accurately examined and considered the same, do report that 'tis our opinion that Hannastown seems to be the most centrical

and fit to answer the purpose intended. We are further of the opinion that should your Honor and the Honorable Council think the Brush Creek Manor a more proper place, it cannot be of much disadvantage to the County. We pray your Honor's sentiment on this head.

The three Hannastown men had induced John Cavett to sign the report. George Wilson did not sign. The report was never officially endorsed by the governor or the council. The Revolution threw such matters into the background.

Records still available of the courts held at Hannastown during those 14 years tell a vivid story of pioneer life.

An early example of legal price fixing is to be noted in the scale of rates for the sale of spirituous liquors. Whiskey, for example, according to the minutes of the court, was to be sold for four pence per gill; grain, per quart 2½ pence; hay and stabling, per night, 1 shilling.

Whipping-posts and a pillory were part of the equipment of the courts. So were stocks. Records show that these instruments of punishment were frequently used.

The ownership of negro and mulato slaves was permissible and laws relating to this subject were enforced. In 1780 slavery was abolished in Pennsylvania. Some slaveholders promptly moved back to Virginia or west to Kentucky.

Indentured servants and redemptioners were haled into court when their masters brought charges of laziness or intractibility. Elizabeth Smith, for some trifling felony, was sentenced to receive 15 lashes on the bare back. Her master, James Kincaid, asked for recompense for her services while she was awaiting trial and recovering from the lashing! The court ordered that she serve two years more after the expiration of her indenture. William Howard, found guilty of a felony, received 30

lashes on his bare back, "well laid on", and stood for an hour in the pillory in January, 1774. The sentence also included the cutting off of the prisoner's ears! It sounds barbaric but it was the law. The records show quite a number of similar cases in which of course, the King was the public prosecutor. All indictments on pleas of the crown were in his name. Immediately after the Declaration of Independence this became Republica or Respublica and later the word Commonwealth, still in use, was instituted.

During one of the sessions of the Hannastown courts Hugh Henry Breckenridge, later an associate state supreme court justice, accepted beaver skins in lieu of other fees, from an Indian charged with murder whom he represented. The Indian, by the way was found guilty and hanged, the rope breaking at the first attempt!

The year after Westmoreland was established and the first courts held at Hannastown Virginians became more active in asserting their claims to the territory. John Connolly took possession of Fort Pitt and called it Fort Dunmore, after the Virginia governor. The trouble with the Indians known as "Dunmore's war" ensued.

About this time a fort and stockade were constructed at Hannastown.

Virginia included most of the western Pennsylvania territory in the West Augusta district.

William Crawford, the first presiding judge of the courts at Hannastown, sided with Virginia in 1775, and was displaced by order of Governor Penn.

Soon thereafter a party headed by Benjamin Harrison, son-in-law of the deposed judge, and Samuel Wilson, broke open the doors of the Hannastown jail with a sledge hammer and released three prisoners confined there.

Simon Girty, later of reviled fame, is said to have wielded the hammer.

Robert Hanna poked his head from the cock loft window of his mansion (also the courthouse) and said

> Boys, you are up early today to buy a rope to hang yourselves.

Sheriff John Carnahan read the riot act to the crowd, which jeered him, the governor, the justices and the province in general.

Justices Hanna and Cavett were arrested and taken to Pittsburgh, and confined to a "Virginia" prison for three months.

The differences between Virginia and Pennsylvania were thrust into the background as the revolt against England, which culminated in the Revolution, grew.

Robert Hanna and James Cavett were delegates to a meeting of a Committee of Correspondence called in the city of Philadelphia because

> The governor declining to call a meeting of the Assembly, renders it necessary to take the sentiments of the inhabitants, and for that purpose it is agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the cities and counties of the state on the 15th inst., Wednesday, July, 1774.

At this convention the two backwoods delegates signed their names to the scholarly paper written by John Dickinson on the abstract nature of liberty and privileges and on the king's prerogatives. It was not a revolutionary convention, for it declared allegiance to King George, though it denounced the arbitrary acts of the British Parliament and in severe terms inveighed against the Boston port bill and the annullment of the Massachusetts charter.

John Connelly, endeavoring to offset the rebellious influences coming from the east, tried to raise a force to

uphold the King, but the hardy Scotch Irish and Pennsylvania Germans preferred to uphold their own rights as American citizens, residing in this backwoods country, be they Virginians or Pennsylvanians.

They were Americans first.

In 1775 it became evident that war between the mother country and the colonies was not far distant. There were, by this time, two Committees of Correspondence in the western country, one for the West Augusta District, Virginia, and one for Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania.

On May 16, 1775, when the Virginia courts opened in Pittsburgh, a committee of 28 men met and drafted resolutions approving the acts of the Bostonians in opposing "the invaders of American rights and privileges to the utmost extreme". Captain John Neville, for Virginia, then commanded at Fort Pitt.

The following day a meeting was held at Hannastown and a paper was adopted to be compared only with the Declaration of Independence which was not then in existence except in the minds of a few leading statesmen.

Backwoodsmen they were in outward respects but their resolutions defined the cause of complaint as understandable as any in Europe or America and showed the remedy for ministerial mismanagement just as clearly.

During the year many such resolutions were adopted throughout the colonies. But in few was the idea of resistance and the theory of American union so prominent. The famous Mecklenburg resolutions in North Carolina were not adopted until May 31, 1775.

The Westmoreland "Declaration of Independence" adopted at Hannastown May 17, 1775 said

> Resolved, unanimously, That the Parliament of Great Britain, by several late acts, have declared the inhabitants

of the Massassachusetts Bay to be in rebellion; and the ministry, by endeavoring to enforce these acts, have endeavored to reduce the said inhabitants to a more wretched state of slavery than ever before existed in any state or country. Not content with violating their constitutional and chartered privileges, they would strip them of the rights of humanity, exposing their lives to the wanton and unpunishable sport of a licentious soldiery, and depriving them of the means of subsistence.

Resolved, unanimously, That there is no reason to doubt but the same system of tyranny and oppression will, should it meet with success in the Massachusetts Bay, be extended to other parts of America; it is, therefore, become the indispensable duty of every American, of every man who has any public virtue or love of his country, or any bowels for posterity, by every means which God has put in his power, to resist and oppose, the execution of it; that for us, we will be ready to oppose it with our lives, and our fortunes, and the better to enable us to accomplish it, we will immediately form ourselves into a military body, to consist of companies to be made up out of the several townships under the following association, which is declared to be the Association of Westmoreland county. Possessed with the most unshaken loyalty and fidelity to His Majesty, King George the Third, whom we acknowledge to be our lawful and right King, and who we wish may long be the beloved sovereign of a free and happy people throughout the whole British Empire; we declare to the world that we do not mean by this association to deviate from loyalty which we hold it to be our bounden duty to observe; but, animated with the love of liberty, it is no less our duty to maintain and defend our just rights (which with sorrow, we have seen of late wantonly violated in many instances by a wicked ministry and a corrupted Parliament) and transmit them entire to our posterity, for which purpose we do agree and associate together.

1st. To arm and form ourselves into a regiment or regiments, and choose officers to command us in such proportion as shall be thought necessary.

2nd. We will with alacrity, endeavor to make ourselves masters of the manual exercises and such evolutions as may be necessary to enable us to act in a body with

concert; and to that end we will meet at such times and places as shall be appointed, either for the companies or the regiment, by the officers commanding each when chosen.

3rd. That should our country be invaded by a foreign enemy, or should troops be sent from Great Britain to enforce the late arbitrary acts of its Parliament, we will cheerfully submit to military discipline, and to the utmost of our power, resist and oppose them, or either of them, and will coincide with any plan that may be formed for the defense of America in general, or Pennsylvania in particular.

4th. That we do not wish or desire any innovation, but only that things may be restored to, and go on in the same way as before the era of the Stamp Act, when Boston grew great and America was happy. As a proof of this disposition, we will quietly submit to the laws by which we have been accustomed to be governed before that period, and will, in our several or associate capacities, be ready when called on to assist the civil magistrates in carrying the same in execution.

5th. That when the British Parliament shall have repealed their late obnoxious statutes, and shall recede from their claim to tax us, and make laws for us in every instance, or when some general plan of union or reconciliation has been formed and accepted by America, this, our association, shall be dissolved; but till then it shall remain in full force; and to the observation of it we bind ourselves by everything dear and sacred amongst us. No licensed murder; no famine introduced by law.

Resolved, That on Wednesday, the 24th instant, the townships meet to accede to the said association and choose their officers.

Arthur St. Clair, writing to Governor John Penn said

I got a clause added to it by which they bind themselves to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by.

Writing to Joseph Shippen, Jr., St. Clair said

Yesterday we had a county meeting and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline and have formed associa-

> tions which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity of such proceedings. I doubt their utility and I am almost as much afraid of success in this contest as of being vanquished.

A week later St. Clair told Governor Penn in another letter

> We have nothing but musters and committees all over the country and everything seems to be running into the wildest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of horror.

Before long the regiment suggested was organized at Hannastown. John Proctor was commander. The flag adopted for its use, showing a rattlesnake with 13 rattles, "Don't Tread on Me" and "J. P. F. B. W. C. P." (John Proctor, First Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania) is a familiar historical memento, now in the State Museum at Harrisburg.

Soon news of the Declaration of Independence speedily made its way across the mountains.

The county approved the establishment of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state and accepted the constitution and plan of government for the Commonwealth. A test oath was provided for all male inhabitants over 18

> I do swear (or affirm) that I renounce and refuse the allegiance to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and subscribers, and that I will faithfully bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State, and that I will not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that will be injurious to the freedom and independence thereof as declared by Congress; and also that I will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of said States, all treason or treacherous conspiracies which I now know or hereafter shall know to be found against this or any of the United States of America.

The British by liberal distribution of presents, money, whiskey and arms secured the alliance of the Indians in the western country. They were a constant menace to the territory weakened by the loss of men who had joined the Revolutionary armies in the east under General George Washington.

Virginia and Pennsylvania adherents had a common foe to meet. The boundary question continued to drift.

In July, 1776, when it became certain that the Iroquois were going to war against the Colonists, General Washington urged the necessity of making preparations for the raising of regiments on the frontiers. The Continental Congress then ordered the recruiting of a western Pennsylvania regiment for the garrisoning of the fort at Kittanning and for the rebuilding of the forts at Franklin, Le Boeuf and Erie. This regiment was rapidly recruited from the militia companies west of the mountains. Seven companies were organized in Westmoreland and one in Bedford county, making up the regiment which was commanded by Colonel Aeneas Mackay. Soon after its organization, it went into camp at Kittanning, where preparations were being made for the advance up the Allegheny river to build the other forts. Before it started on this mission it was ordered east to join the army of Washington on the Delaware. It started the weary 300 mile journey across the snow covered mountains in January, 1777.

The Eighth Pennsylvania was the most distant body of men to be called into the service of the army of patriots.

This left the western frontier unguarded except for groups of rangers. In a few years Kittanning was abandoned because of Indian raids from the north.

When General Lachlan McIntosh replaced General Edward Hand in command of the western department

upon orders from congress and General Washington the Eighth Pennsylvania and the Thirteenth Virginia left Valley Forge for the Ohio, Colonel Daniel Brodhead then commanded the Eighth.

The thrilling story of this regiment would fill a book.

The regiment had marched east in the dead of winter. It left Valley Forge "for home" in June. At Carlisle it was ordered up the Susquehanna for the relief of that section so badly ravaged by Indians. By September the regiment was in Fort Pitt. The plan was to invade the Ohio country and eventually attack the British Fort Detroit.

A peaceful interlude was a treaty with the Indians held at Fort Pitt in 1778, which has interest because it proposed the establishment of a fourteenth state, to be joined to the original thirteen, composed of the loyal members of the Turtle Clan of the Delawares, who had made the famous treaty with William Penn a hundred years before and now lived along the Ohio. Chief White Eyes heartily approved of this thought.

The treaty included

> "And it is further agreed on between the contracting parties that, should it, in future, be found conducive to the mutual interest of both parties to invite any other tribe who have been friendly to the interest of the United States to join the present confederation and to form a State, whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representative in Congress; provided nothing contained in this article be considered as conclusive until it meets with the approbation of Congress" (Manuscript of Colonel George Morgan, at Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh)

Perhaps the white commissioners who made the treaty knew that such an Indian state was impossible, but it is mentioned here because this was the only tribe along all the western frontier which remained friendly to the Americans and was not under control of the

British. White Eyes is variously said to have died of the small pox and to have been "treacherously put to death" by a Virginia militiaman.

The attack on Fort Detroit never materialized. A fort named McIntosh was built on the site of the present Beaver and another at the Tuscarawas river named Laurens, but this failed to awe the savages.

The winter of 1779-1780 was severe east and west. The harbor of New York was frozen and the British drove horses and wagons over the ice to Staten Island.

In the west the soldiers at Fort Pitt suffered for want of food and clothing. Communication from the east was shut off. The snow was three and four feet deep on Laurel Ridge. The Indians, too, suffered. But by spring the savages had recovered somewhat. The Supreme Executive Council offered for Indian and Tory prisoners the sum of $1,500 for a male, and $1,000 for a male scalp.

But Continental money had little value. Moral motives against this legal savagery evidently did not exist.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead, then commanding Fort Pitt, wrote to President Reed.

> "unless something is speedily done these posts, which are of the utmost importance, must be evacuated, and the Country will, of course, be deserted or as some have hinted, join the Enemy".

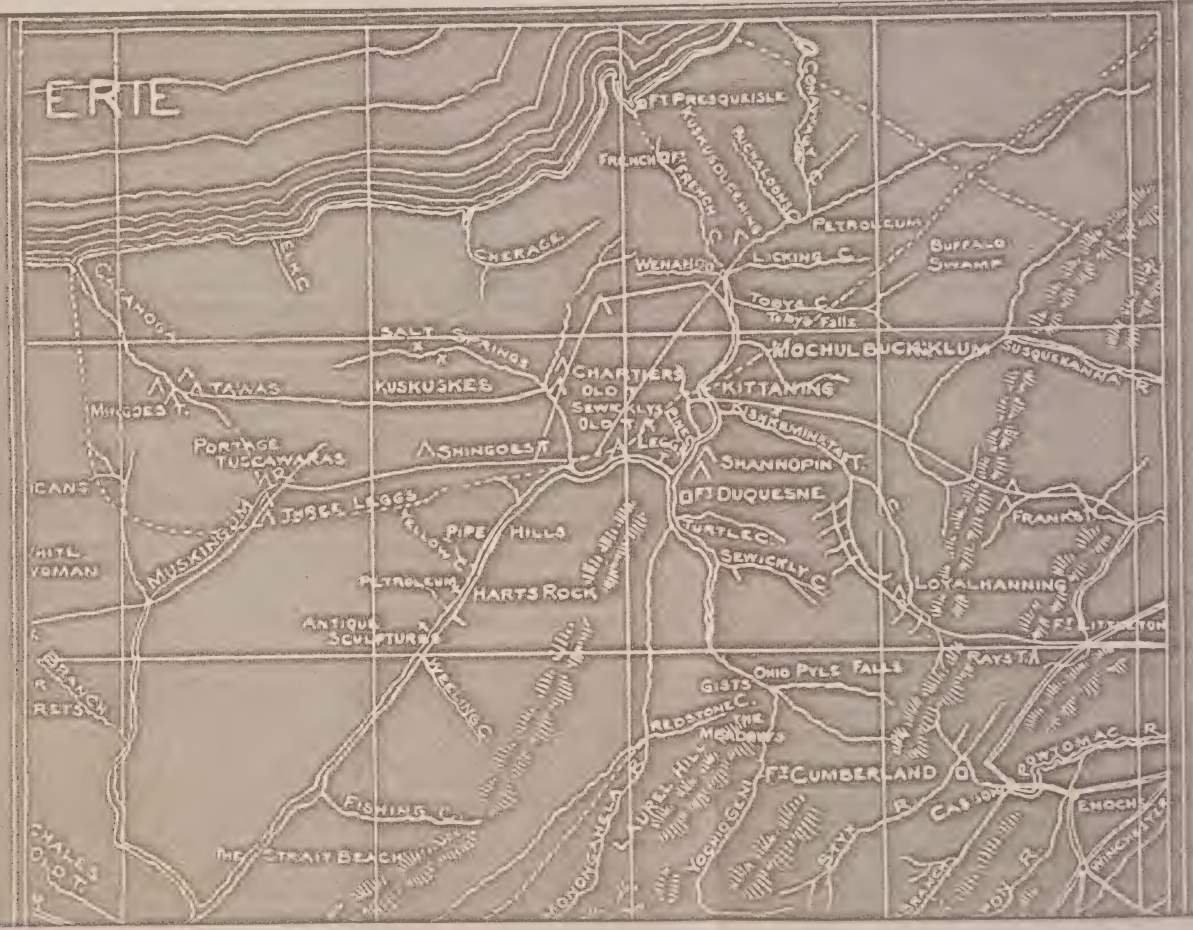
For the next few years the frontier was a living hell.

After White Eyes' death the Indians became bolder. The white man's double dealing fanned into flame the red man's treachery.

Joshua at least had Jehovah as a sponsor when he deliberately obliterated the Canaanitish peoples of biblical history. Colonel David Williamson and his force of frontiersmen had nothing but a lust for blind revenge and bitter hate for all Indians. The Sandusky tribes

ERIE
IGANS
/HITE
VOMAN
MUS
BRANCH
RETS

ERIE
Ft Presqu'isle
French Cr
Petroleum
Buffalo Swamp
Cherago
Wenango
Licking C
Tobys C
Tobys Falls
Mochul Buck Klum
Susquehanna R
Salt Springs
Kuskuskies
Chartiers
Old Sewickly Old Town
Kittaning
Kiskeminetas R
Tawas
Mingoes T
Portage Tuscawaras
Shingoes T
Shannopin T
Ft Duquesne
Canoe
Muskingum R
Jobbe Leggs
Yellow C
Pipe Hills
Turtle C
Sewickly C
Franks T
White Woman
Petroleum
Harts Rock
Loyalhanning
Ft Littleton
Antique Sculptures
Ohio Pyle Falls
Rays T
Branch R
Rets
Gists
Redstone C
The Meadows
Wheeling C
Ft Cumberland
Potomac R
Laurel Hill
Youghiogeny R
Fishing C
Enoch
Cassa
The Strait Beach
Monongahela R
Shawanese Old T
Stony
Branch
Winchester


ERIE
FT PRESQUE ISLE
CONNEAUT C.
FRENCH C.
FRENCH
KUSKUSKOUSKINGS
MUSKALOONG
PETROLEUM
BUFFALO SWAMP
CHERAGE
WENANGO
LICKING C.
ELK C.
TOBYS C.
TOBYS FALLS
SALT SPRINGS
MOCHUL
BUCKALUM
SUSQUEHANNA R.
CHARTIERS
OLD SEWICKLYS
OLD LEGS
KITTANING
KUSKUSKES
OHIOPYLE
MINGOES T.
ATTAWAS
PORTAGE
TUSCAWARAS
SHINGOES T.
SHANNOPIN T.
ICANS
ISBEL LEGS
FT DUQUESNE
FRANKS T.
PIPE HILLS
KILLBUCK C.
MUSKINGUM
HITL.
YOMAN
PETROLEUM
HARTS ROCK
SEWICKLY C.
LOYALHANNING
ANTIQUE SCULPTURES
FT LITTLETON
RAYS T.
OHIO PYLE FALLS
GISTS
BRANCH
RETS
REDSTONE C.
THE MEADOWS
LAUREL HILL
FT CUMBERLAND
POTOMAC R.
CASS
ENOCH
FISHING C.
THE STRAIT BEACH
CHARLES
DOT
YOUGHIOGENY
SAVA
R.

Map of
Western Pennsylvania
And
Eastern Ohio
In 1756
From Pennsylvania—A History
By
Dr. George P. Donehoo

Old Map of
Westmoreland County
Showing Different Routes
Taken Respectively by
Generals Braddock And Forbes
From
Old And New Westmoreland
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ALLEGHENY
CAMBRIA COUNTY
WASHINGTON COUN
COUNTY
GREEN COUNTY
LAUREL
MILES
22

INDIANA COUNTY
ALLEGHENY COUNTY
WESTMORELAND COUNTY
WASHINGTON COUNTY
FAYETTE COUNTY
SOMERSET COUNTY
CAMBRIA COUNTY
Allegheny River
Kiskiminetas River
Conemaugh River
Laurel Hill
Chestnut Ridge
Pittsburgh
Murrysville
Greensburg
Latrobe
Ligonier
Mt. Pleasant
Scottdale
Connellsville
Somerset
Johnstown
SCALE IN MILES

INDIANA COUNTY
CAMBRIA COUNTY
ALLEGHENY COUNTY
WESTMORELAND COUNTY
WASHINGTON COUNTY
FAYETTE COUNTY
SOMERSET COUNTY
GREEN COUNTY
Allegheny River
Conemaugh River
Kiskiminetas River
Loyalhanna Creek
Chestnut Ridge
Laurel Hill
Pittsburgh
Murrysville
Jeannette
Greensburg
Latrobe
Ligonier
Mt. Pleasant
Scottdale
Connellsville
Somerset
Johnstown

christianized by the Moravians were murdered while harvesting corn in their deserted villages of Schoenbrun, Salem and Gnadenhutten on the Tuscarora river in Ohio. The forty men, twenty women and thirty-four children died praying and singing hymns as taught by the missionaries.

All buildings were burned and all property confiscated by the whites. This was one of several such raids by frenzied rangers. Killbuck, a colonel in the United States service, met death on an island in the shadow of Fort Pitt at the mouth of the Allegheny river in an uncalled for attack by Hannastown raiders.

The frontiersmen did not believe in the existence of friendly Indians.

Fierce retaliation fell upon the entire frontier.

* * *

Arthur St. Clair had gone to become one of Washington's trusted officers. He was criticized for retreating before he was attacked by Burgoyne at Ticonderoga, but a court of inquiry exonerated him and Marquis De Lafayette wrote

> I cannot tell you how much my heart was interested in anything that happened to you and how much I rejoiced, not that you were acquitted, but that your conduct was examined.

After Benedict Arnold turned traitor St. Clair commanded at West Point.

* * *

Death and famine stared in the face what was left of the settlers in Westmoreland. Savage attacks could be expected anytime day or night with the Indians spurred to continual action by white renegades such as Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott.

The inhabitants remained close to the several forts for protection.

Captain Samuel Brady won everlasting fame as the guardian of Westmoreland county on the northwest during this period, watching the Allegheny river with his rangers for signs of hostile Indians. Col. Archibald Lochry, who lived on Twelve-Mile Run, near Hannastown, and was county lieutenant, staged an expedition against the Indians in the Ohio country, which ended in death for the commander and most of his men at the hands of the savages.

Col. William Crawford and his forces met a similar fate, the former president judge of the Hannastown courts being burned at the stake, with Simon Girty refusing to end his misery with a bullet.

It was a dark and gloomy period in the history of Westmoreland county.

The most woeful day was Saturday, July 13, 1782.

The militia in the service of the state had deserted from the posts, because it was not paid and in rags. What was left of the settlers around Hannastown on the day mentioned went to cut the harvest of Michael Huffnagel. Huffnagel had succeeded St. Clair as prothonotary and also was one of the judges of the Common Pleas. He returned home early from service in the Revolutionary war because of a severe leg wound. Besides serving in two offices at one and the same time for the county Huffnagel fought valiantly in the patriot forces in the east and carried with him wherever he went the county records!

The story of the burning of Hannastown is based largely on tradition, thrilling enough, it is true, but not unlike other tales of Indian devastation. The savages applied the burning fagot to the hamlet and nothing was

left except Robert Hanna's house. Robert Hanna's wife and one of his daughters visiting at Miller's fort nearby were among the whites captured and carried to Canada.

Michael Huffnagle in reporting the tragedy to President William Moore of the supreme executive council, which functioned during the Revolution as a state government, said

> We found several jackets, the buttons marked with the King's eighth regiment. * * * * The situation of the inhabitants is deplorable, a number of them not having a blanket to lie on, nor a second suit to put on their backs.

The fort itself probably was saved by a stratagem. The inmates took their horses and repeatedly drove them over the drawbridge leading to the fort so that the noise during the night might make it appear that reinforcements had arrived.

At length the Revolutionary war was ended. The definite treaty of peace with England was ratified by Congress on January 14, 1784, and on the 22nd a proclamation to that effect was published.

Robert Hanna fades from the historical picture at this point. His influence and that of his friends, however, kept the courts at Hannastown for a few more years.

For years at those early sessions of Quarter Sessions court in the log courthouse petitions for new roads were presented and others passed on.

The Forbes military road was the main highway through the county, but there were places where it was not adapted to peace time traffic. On September 25, 1785, the state legislature appropriated two thousand dollars to lay out and make a highway from the western part of Cumberland county to Pittsburgh. This road ran south of Hannastown. New commissioners to choose a

county seat were named. The Hanna influence faded. The commissioners could not agree. A third board was named. This body chose a piece of land for a county seat

> Provided, said piece of land be not situated further east than the Nine Mile Run, nor further west than Bushy Run, further north than the Loyalhanna, nor further south than five miles south of the old Pennsylvania road leading to Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh's hopes were frustrated.

The county of Allegheny in 1788 was the result.

The majority of the Westmoreland board of commissioners chose Christopher Truby's town or Newtown and with an appropriation of one hundred pounds proceeded to erect a courthouse and jail. Soon the place became Greensburg, named after the famous Revolutionary General Nathaniel Greene, and so it remains.

Hannastown dwindled until it disappeared and remains today as farm and bituminous coal land where once was established the first English court west of the Alleghenies until it became the last court to the westward under the jurisdiction of Great Britain.

St. Clair, principal sponsor for the court, had not returned home from Revolutionary service when Hannastown was burned.

A few years later (1785) he sat in the Second Continental Congress and two years afterward was chosen its president, the highest office in the government at that time. Thomas Mifflin was another Pennsylvanian to hold this office, which was appointive.

The office of president of the United States was not created until the adoption of the constitution in 1787.

St. Clair presided over the session of congress which provided for the constitutional convention. At the time

he resided in Pottstown, where an old building for years was called the "First White House".

Under the celebrated Ordinance of 1787 St. Clair was appointed governor of the Northwest Territory. His powers were extensive. Under them he changed the name of a small settlement from Losantiville to Cincinnati, where General Josiah Harmar a short time before had established a headquarters and had written General Knox, chief commander of the United States Army

> On account of its superior excellence I have thought proper to honor it with the name of Fort Washington.

A county, embracing nearly the whole of Illinois, was formed in April, 1790, and called St. Clair.

Suffering from gout and with an army illy equipped and sadly lacking in discipline St. Clair, now a major general, was defeated by the enraged Miami Indians and their allies on the Wabash river.

St. Clair was severely censured. A committee of congress investigated, but at length exonerated him. Washington, according to a report his secretary, Lear, is said to have made, was at first furious when he heard of the defeat, but when he had calmed down asserted, "St. Clair shall have justice".

General Anthony Wayne succeeded St. Clair as commander of the army which finally quieted the savages in this territory.

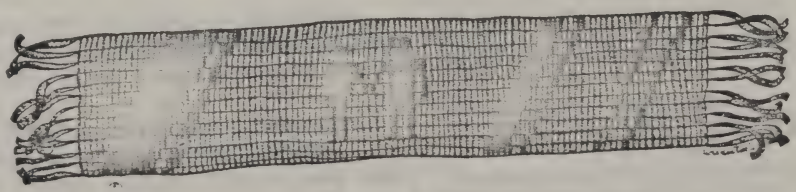
St. Clair remained as governor until removed by President Thomas Jefferson in 1802 because of his Federalist proclivities. The elder Theodore Roosevelt says that Governor St. Clair, while a man of high integrity

> Possessed no capacity for getting on with the frontiersman, being without sympathy for their virtues, while keenly alive to their unattractive faults; he was an autocrat both by military training and political principles.

Major-General St. Clair's home near Ligonier, which, tradition says, contained handiwork by a carpenter sent by Washington, was sold in 1810 to pay a debt he incurred to feed his troops in 1791. An annuity by the government and a pension from the state did little to ward off poverty. Debtors attached every penny of the annuity. As a tavern keeper on the slopes of Chestnut Ridge he managed to eke out a living in his extreme old age.

Like the seat of English law which he helped to establish at Hannastown, his personal fortunes dwindled to nothing. He lived a disappointed but brave old man until 1818, when thrown from a wagon going down the mountainside.

There is a monument to Arthur St. Clair in Greensburg, but his greatest monument is the growth of Western Pennsylvania and the wide expanse of states which were carved out of the Northwest Territory, over all of which he first spread the elevating influences of civil government.



Wampum Belt

Pennsylvania

PITTSBURGH

Pennsylvania was settled by a body of Quakers, in 1681, under the guidance of Wm. Penn, who is distinguished for his upright dealings with the Indians.

Where *Schuylkill* and the *Delaware* convene,
Is Philadelphia, oldest child of Penn.
And Harrisburg, the state metropolis,
On Susquehannah River, none can miss,
'Bove Harrisburg, Northumberland may tarry:
As in Luzerne is one, called Wilkesbarre.
Mauch Chunk in Carbon, where the *Lehigh* pours;
Honesdale in Wayne, where *Lackawaxen* roars.
Milford, in Pike, and Stroudsburg in Monroe,
Easton where *Delaware* and *Lehigh* flow.
Bristol in Bucks, 'bove Philadelphia's landing;
Chester below, in Delaware is standing.
On Schuylkill banks, is one called Norristown;
There Reading keeps; there Pottsville sits her down.
From Reading west, is Lebanon the while;
York lives in York; in Cumberland Carlisle.
From Cumberland, is Chambersburg southwest;
As south in Adams, Gettysburg may rest.
Where Alleghany joins Monongahela,
Pittsburg is found, though smoke and coal conceal her;
Here Birmingham, and one called Alleghany.
Their stations take in Western Pennsylvania.
Erie is where Lake Erie's waves roll ever;
As Beaver lies upon the Ohio River.

Noted for coal mines and iron manufactures; and as being the center of the Alleghany Mountains.

The mountains extend through the middle of the state, leaving the northeastern and southwestern portions level, or undulating.

It is the first manufacturing state in the union, and is the richest in minerals.

The iron mines of this state are great sources of wealth, and chiefly supply the manufacturing establishments.

The coal beds are inexhaustible, yielding over two millions of tons annually; and in real importance and worth, are more valuable than the gold mines of Mexico, or California. On the eastern side of the mountains is found the anthracite, or hard coal; on the west bituminous, or soft coal. Pittsburg is near the center of the bituminous coal region.

Wheat is the principal product of the soil, though corn and other grains are raised in great abundance.

Its population is second to none but New York.

Several battles were fought in this state during the revolutionary struggle. Valley Forge, twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia, is known as the place where Gen. Washington made his winter quarters, during the darkest hours of the contest.

HARRISBURGH, on the Susquehannah, is the capital.

Philadelphia is noted as being the largest town in the state, and second in the United States. It is distinguished for its humane and literary institutions; among which are Girard College, for orphans, the School for the blind, and one for deaf and dumb persons. Fairmount Water Works, which supply a great portion of the city with pure water from the Schuylkill river, hold a prominent place among the pleasure grounds, which are numerous.

Pittsburgh, the second town in the state, in population, is distinguished for coal mines in its vicinity, and for the manufacture of iron, glass, white lead and heavy machinery.

Pottsville, Mauch Chunk and Honesdale, are noted for their coal mines.

Reading is a large and beautiful town, situated about fifty miles from Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill river. It is distinguished for its extensive iron works.

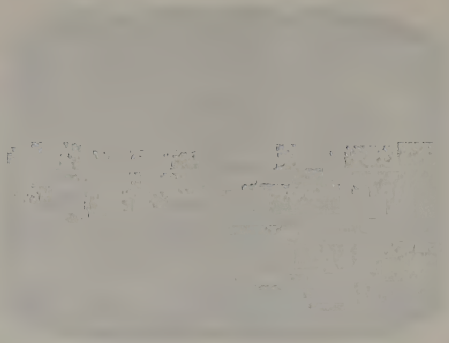
Easton is noted for its flour mills.

Wilkesbarre for the massacre of the inhabitants in the Wyoming valley, during the Revolution.

The works of internal improvement in this state have greatly facilitated the intercourse with the eastern and western portions of the union.

Since 1844 the system of common school education has received its due attention.

(Reproduction of page from THE POETICAL GEOGRAPHY and rule of arithmetic in rhyme by George Van Waters, published at Louisville, Philadelphia, Hartford, New York and Boston in 1850.)



10

WHISKEY AND HOT WATER

THE crushing of the Whiskey Insurrection was a crisis in our national life. If any section or class could, with impunity, defy the will of the majority as expressed in the Acts of Congress, the new government would disintegrate as did the Confederation.

For three years Washington temporized with the four Pennsylvania counties, because he feared that a call upon the militia to uphold the government would be repudiated, and that the Constitution, thus shown to have no hold upon the people's affections, would perish in mockery and derision. But when the new government had established its credit by Hamilton's financial plans, the number of colonists who imbibed their principles and fashions from Europe decreased in proportion as the number of Americans who were proud of the Republic increased. Then came Washington's

THIS is the story of a new government's first real test.

A horse could carry only four bushels of grain across the Alleghenies from western to eastern Pennsylvania, but could carry the product of 24 bushels in the form of whiskey. And on the return trip could bring salt, sugar and iron. Distilling whiskey was a major industry.

Western Pennsylvania contained more stills than any other similar area in the United States, and therefore was heavily taxed, yet the Constitution of the United States provided "that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." So reasoned the people of this region. Further—

Through the long years of bitter boundary dispute they had discovered—these frontier people—that appeals to the civil

10

call for volunteers, the ready answer of the militia and the suppression of the rebellion.

Notes in Messages and Papers of the Presidents, a History of Western Pennsylvania by Rupp and old time newspapers were some of the writings consulted.

laws of either Pennsylvania or Virginia had amounted to little. What was the use of appealing to a far distant government, which had not been able to protect their homes from the savage raids of Indians? They could see no difference between a tax on tea which they had helped to resist and a tax on whiskey. Evidently the art of passing on taxes to the consumer had not been learned.

It was the first real test of the growing strength of a government founded on a democratic basis.

The real meaning of the word "union" was to be defined.

President George Washington and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton did not propose to overlook any defiance of the laws enacted by the new congress.

They were determined to demonstrate that the new government was not a rope of sand.

What is known as the Whiskey Insurrection followed closely upon the heels of the act of 1791 levying a tax on distilled liquors. Senators William Maclay and Robert Morris were instructed by the Pennsylvania legislature to oppose the law, "established on principles subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of citizens."

David Bradford, district attorney of Washington county, was a violent opponent of the law. At a meeting at Redstone Old Fort, Bradford urged armed resistance. Albert Gallatin, afterward secretary of the treasury under President Thomas Jefferson, Judge Hugh Henry Brackenridge and William Findley and John Smiley, members of Congress, counselled peaceable procedure, although all condemned the law.

Trained to settle everything they had or ever hoped to have by force of arms many of the people of the section west of the mountains resorted to bloodshed and property destruction.

Tom the Tinker tacked his warnings on trees and fence posts in Fayette, Westmoreland, Washington and Allegheny counties. There were a few small distillers who obeyed the law and paid the tax on their products. Mobs cut or broke the stills belonging to such law abiders. This cutting or breaking of a still was popularly called "mending the still" and the men who did the "mending" were called "Tinkers", so that those who collectively broke up stills and who opposed the law, were called "Tom the Tinkers".

Notices tacked up on trees and posts often were obscene and inflammatory. Others were phrased for public print. John Reed found a notice posted on a tree near his distillery and complying with the threat it contained asked the editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette to print it.

Advertisement!

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent excise man, John Neville, I find there were a great many delinquents among those who are carrying on distilling. It will, therefore, be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any class or set of men to be excluded from the service of this, my district, when notified to attend, on any expedition carried on, in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law and obtain a repeal thereof.

I do declare on my solemn word that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm with equipments and give their assistance, such as in them lies, in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies, and stand opposed to virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And, whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident of Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburg, and having a set of stills employed at said

> Reedsburg, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, has, by delinquency manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the Pittsburgh Gazette the ensuing week, under no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery. Given under my hand this nineteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.
>
> TOM THE TINKER.

August 1, 1794, a mass meeting of 7,000 armed insurgents was held on Braddock's Field, Hugh Henry Breckenridge presiding and Albert Gallatin acting as secretary. With such leadership the mob spirit was somewhat calmed and directed into channels which would not lead to bloodshed.

Many of those who took part in the demonstration were swept along by the current of popular opinion and action. Breckenridge described it as

> A breath in favor of the law was sufficient to ruin any man. It was considered as a badge of toryism. A clergyman was not orthodox in the pulpit, unless against the law. A physician was not thought capable of administering medicine unless his principles were right in this respect. A lawyer could have got no practice without at least concealing his sentiments, if for the law; nor could a country store get custom. On the contrary, to talk against the law was the way to office and emolument. To go to the legislature or congress, you must make a noise against it. It was the Shibboleth of safety, and the ladder of ambition.

President Washington, himself, accompanied an army of 15,000 men, raised to suppress the disorder, as far as Bedford. Secretary Hamilton accompanied the troops to the scene of disorder. Many of those who refused the proffered amnesty were arrested. Conferences between the federal and state representatives resulted in a return

to law and order. The new national government had asserted its authority successfully.

Another test came in 1759.

Troubles between the United States and France led to a movement to organize an army. To help pay for this a two million dollar direct tax was imposed upon houses, lands and slaves.

Pennsylvania's share of the tax was $232,177.72. There were few slaves in the state and the tax fell upon houses and land. The value of houses was determined by counting the number and measuring the size of the windows.

When the assessors came to measure the windows in Montgomery, Lehigh, Bucks and Berks counties housewives poured scalding water on them and untied savage dogs.

The disturbance became known to historians as the "Hot Water Rebellion".

The leading spirit in this revolt against a system of taxation which resembled that of the Old World was John Fries, a hot-headed auctioneer, who travelled about with his dog "Whiskey". He spoke German fluently and what he said had considerable weight with the Pennsylvania German farmers.

Fries and his partisans, in parties of fifty or sixty, headed by a drum and fife, followed the assessors as they made their rounds, chasing them from township to township. Fries himself carried a large horse pistol. Others of the party were armed.

President John Adams was compelled to call out the militia to suppress this disorder.

Fries fled from his place beside an auction block but

was arrested in a swamp and with thirty others was taken to Philadelphia to be tried for treason.

At the trial there was much argument about the definition of treason. Fries' attorneys claimed the offense was merely rioting. The court relied upon the Constitution:

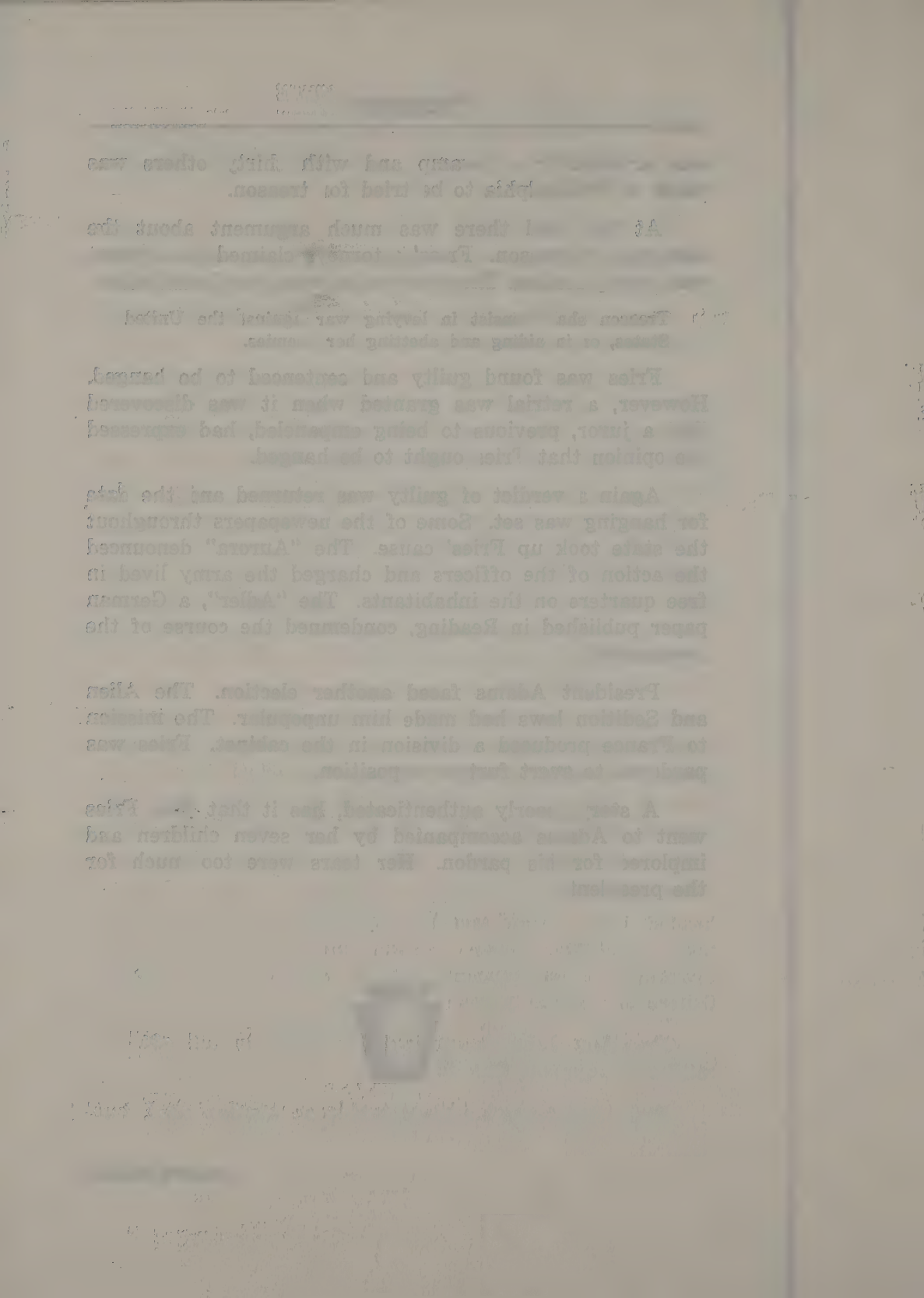
> Treason shall consist in levying war against the United States, or in aiding and abetting her enemies.

Fries was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. However, a retrial was granted when it was discovered that a juror, previous to being empaneled, had expressed the opinion that Fries ought to be hanged.

Again a verdict of guilty was returned and the date for hanging was set. Some of the newspapers throughout the state took up Fries' cause. The "Aurora" denounced the action of the officers and charged the army lived in free quarters on the inhabitants. The "Adler", a German paper published in Reading, condemned the course of the government.

President Adams faced another election. The Alien and Sedition laws had made him unpopular. The mission to France produced a division in the cabinet. Fries was pardoned to avert further opposition.

A story, poorly authenticated, has it that Mrs. Fries went to Adams accompanied by her seven children and implored for his pardon. Her tears were too much for the president!



11

A CITY PLANNED LIKE A GRIDIRON

PHILADELPHIA is like a many faceted diamond. To describe each and every facet would be a stupendous task. In a brief sketch such as this only a few of the beams of reflected historical light may be called to the reader's attention.

When a city starts with a brand new plan of government and in time becomes the place where a great commonwealth centers in origin and growth, and still later becomes the cradle of a mighty nation, the effort to do it justice is awesome.

Yet the pages here presented, with liberal use of the records of the Pennsylvania Historical Society and browsing through Penn's and Franklin's works and other assistance, make the attempt.

A stately old city is Philadelphia. William Penn

IN THE autumn of 1681 the John and Sarah sailed up Delaware bay. On board were William Crispen, John Bezar and Nathaniel Allen, empowered by William Penn to

> Locate and lay out a great town on the Pennsylvania bank of the Delaware . . . where it is most navigable, and the land high, dry and healthy; that is, where most ships may ride, or deepest draft of water, and if possible to load or unload at the bank or keyside, without boatage of lighterage.
>
> Such a place being found, lay out then a thousand acres contiguous to it in the best manner you can, as the bounds and extent of the liberties of the said town. . . . Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plot as to the breadthway of it, so that there may be ground on each side for gardens or

in his broad-brimmed Quaker hat and full-skirted Quaker coat, towers high enough above the skyscraper roofs to enjoy the "fruits of solitude" on city hall tower.

One cannot know Pennsylvania unless one visits and studies Philadelphia.

orchards or fields, that it may be a green country town which may never be burnt and always wholesome.

Before going overseas Penn sold tracts of Pennsylvania lands to persons technically known as "First Purchasers" and by agreement with them published certain "Conditions and Concessions". He proposed to lay out a large town on the Delaware to which purchasers of outside land to the extent of five hundred acres or more should receive ten acres in the proposed city. Purchasers of five thousand acres or more might form townships. From every one hundred thousand acres the proprietary reserved ten thousand acres for himself.

When Penn arrived in the Welcome a year later he saw the folly of laying out a town large enough to include the area required under his plan of bestowing bonus lots. He thereupon reduced the plan of the city in size, dividing it into lots of various sizes under a survey made by Surveyor General Thomas Holme. The first purchasers were preferred for city lots and also received tracts of the liberties.

Lieutenant Governor Captain William Markham, Surveyor Holme and the three commissioners agreed that the townsite best suited was at the forks of the Delaware and Schuykill rivers where the wooded banks were high and bold, and neighboring lands nearly free from swamp. Near by was clay for bricks and abundant good building stone. It met with Penn's whole hearted approval.

Early Swedish settlers, the Swansons and Peter Cock owned this "forks", which Andreas Hudde had purchased from the Indians for the Dutch 36 years earlier. The

Swedes lived in their village of Wicaco near the present Old Swedes' Church. Penn exchanged lands with them, deeding them larger tracts further up the Schuykill.

While Penn's spiritual vision has not yet been fulfilled, his prophetic view of what the city one day would be has materialized. It is larger now than the larger area he first assigned to it.

His original gridiron plan (that bane of modern traffic) was modeled from his reading of the history of ancient Babylon, the ill-fated Biblical city with its streets crossing at right angles within its circuit of 56 miles on the banks of the Euphrates. He sought to get away from the narrow streets of European cities.

Two magnificent streets were to front on the rivers and remain open on one side to the rivers. High street, perfectly straight and one hundred feet in width was to connect these streets. Broad street, of equal width, was to cut the city in two from north to south. Where these highways crossed, in the center of the city, a public square of ten acres was reserved and equidistant from it four larger squares were to be set aside for parks. Eight streets were to be built parallel to Broad street and twenty parallel to the river.

Penn called the city Philadelphia, after the only one of the seven Christian churches of Asia Minor saved from complete destruction by the pagans. Babylon means confusion or mixture. Philadelphia means love of a brother. How prophetic of Penn's own experiences in handling of the province and city he founded. The Quaker ideal of government was found impracticable.

Appropriately with the outstanding feature of the seal of Philadelphia—the anchor, the first substantial building erected was the Blue Anchor, a tavern on Front street near Dock creek, with Captain Will Dare as land-

Old Print Showing
Mob of
Whiskey Insurrectionists
Maltreating Excise Officer
From an Official Compilation
of the
Messages And Papers
of the
Presidents

Map

of

Philadelphia

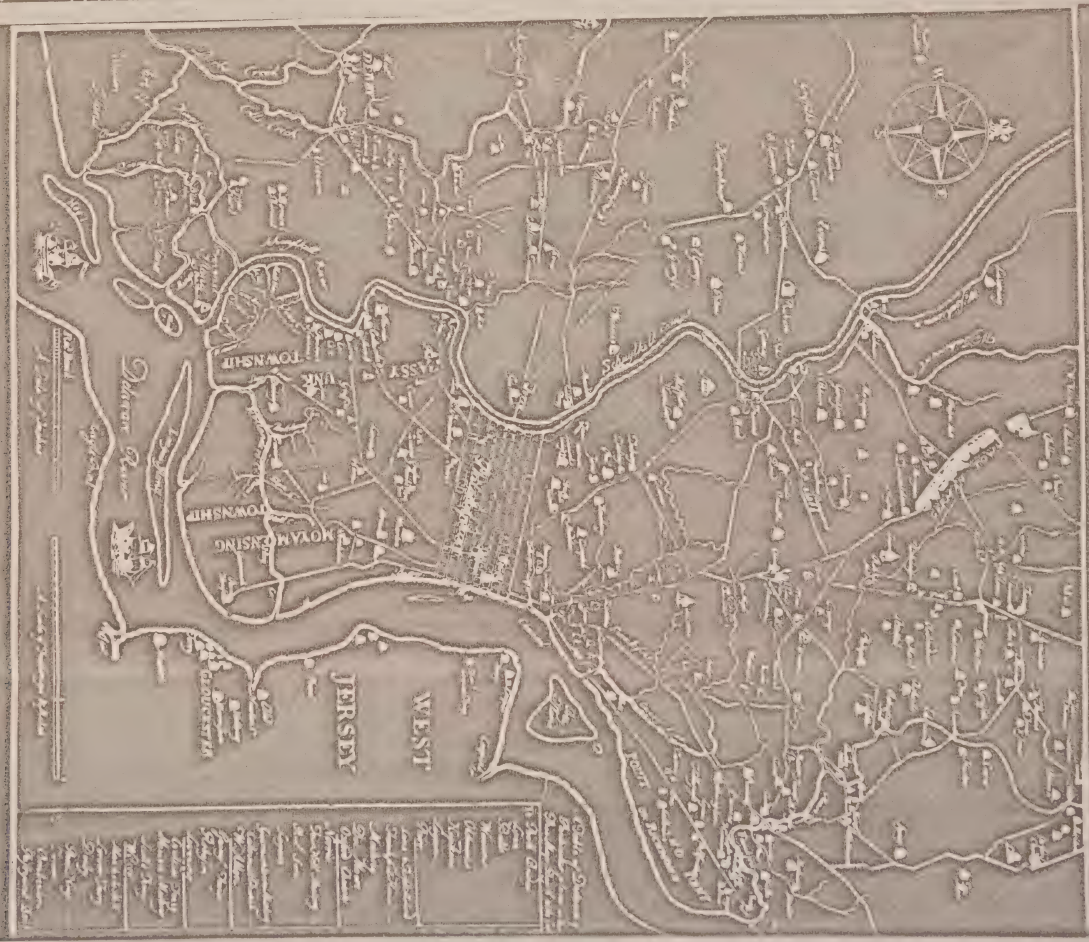
And Adjacent Territory

In 1750

By

N. Scull and G. Heap

TOWNSHIP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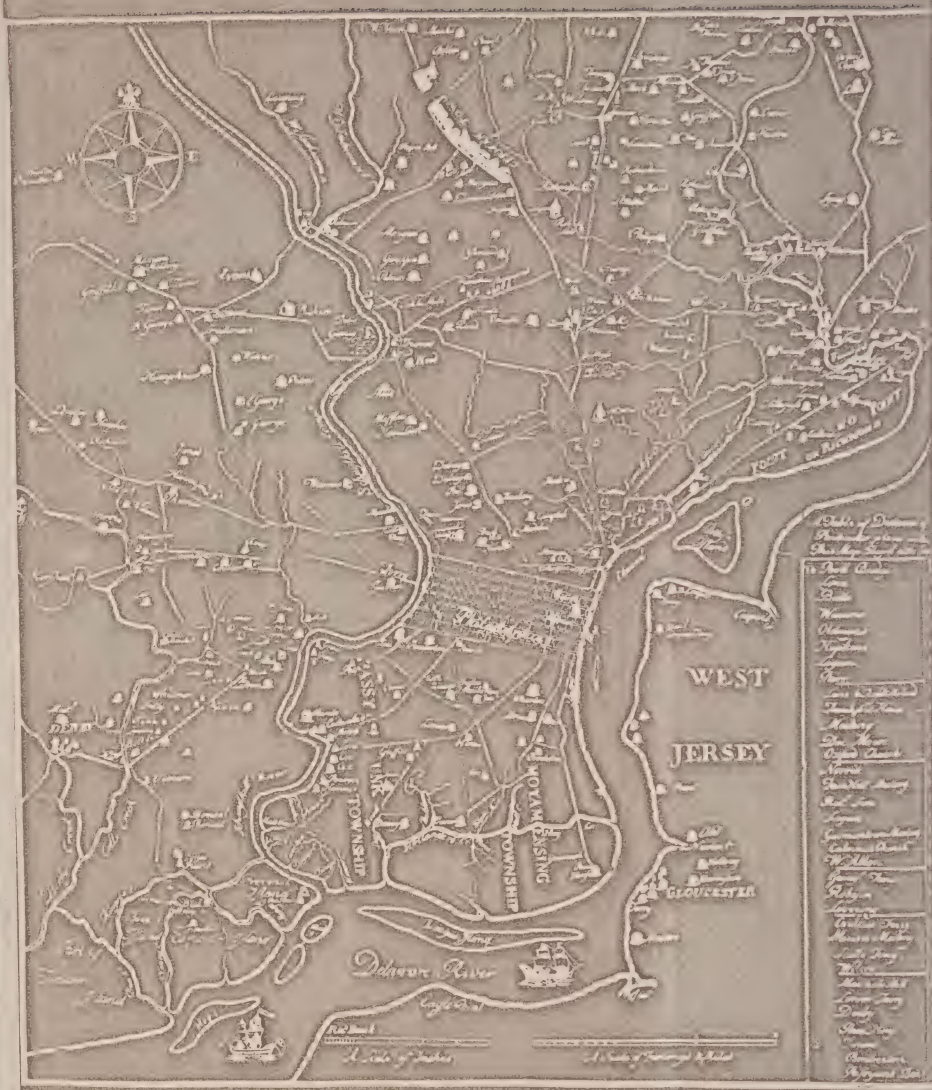
WEST


WEST
JERSEY
GLOUCESTER
Delaware River

lord. It also was the community center and trade headquarters for beer, money, grain, and shipping, although only 12 by 24 feet in size.

Building soon became spirited. Samuel Carpenter built a wharf at which a vessel of five hundred tons could be moored. Wooden houses, of logs and wide clapboards and pointed roofs, balconies and porches were erected. Then brick houses. Within a year a hundred houses had been built, sixty vessels had arrived and more than 330 farms settled.

The proprietor deeded a lot to the infant John Key, first white child born in the city, 1682.

William Penn wrote to his friends at court

> With the help of God and such noble friends, I will show a progress within seven years equal to her neighbors of forty years' planning.

He set up a printing press, brought from London by William Bradford, a school, and a postoffice operating between Philadelphia, Chester, Newcastle and Maryland.

Captain Markham had laid a good foundation for his cousin by establishing a government, negotiating with the Indians for more land, and by appointing justices. He wrote to London

> It is a fine country, if it were not so overgrown with woods, and very healthy. Here people live to be over 100 years old.

Penn followed this with epistolary advertising of his province. Penn knew how to advertise both as a Quaker propagandist and as a real estate agent. He published, during his lifetime, almost fifty volumes, besides many pamphlets and letters which still are in existence.

Penn wrote about the soil, climate, water, trees, fruits, fish, wild creatures and described the Indians, who, he held, sprang from the lost tribes of Israel.

With his city fairly begun a seven thousand pounds mansion was built by the founder on the Pennsbury Manor tract of 6,558 acres in southern Bucks county, about 20 miles upstream from Philadelphia by road and more by water.

Penn wrote to Colonel Henry Sidney in London

> We have laid out a town a mile long and two miles deep. On each side of the town runs a navigable river, the least as Broad as the Thames at Woolwich, the other about a mile over. I think we have near about eighty houses built, and about three hundred farms settled round the town.

The life of the city and its people became more complex.

Poor old Margaret Matson was accused of bewitching cows and geese. Penn presided as governor at the trial. He summed up the evidence discretely and the jury paroled her for six months.

A common store was set up by the council "for the sustinence of the people".

A proclamation was issued empowering "masters to chastise their servants".

The people of the new city through their council early sought to take away power from the proprietor. They neglected to pay rents for their leases almost from the first. The Holy Experiment had its thorns. Selfishness was not removed when Quakerism came.

Over in England Penn's wife, the patient Gulielma, was ill. The dispute with Lord Baltimore was vexing. Penn thought he ought to be in London to look after his interests. He left for England, after writing a farewell letter to his people from his ship, the Endeavor

> And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail has there been to bring thee forth and preserve thee from such as would

> abuse and defile thee; my soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy people may be blessed of the Lord and thy people saved by his power.

The prayer was insufficient to hold the people to Penn's idealism. The council under Thomas Lloyd as president sought ways and means to forget its debt to the founder. Dissensions, far removed from the Quakers' supposed love of amity, grew rapidly. Penn, in England, found it necessary to write to James Hamilton and others in Philadelphia

> I am sorry at heart for your animosities . . . for the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open in your dissatisfactions.

He became stronger in his words as the "City of Brotherly Love" and the province attempted to take away his proprietary governmental powers. He wrote

> I will keep the powers and privileges I have left, and recover the rest as their misbehaviors shall forfeit them back into my hands for it is yet in my power to make them need me.

Philadelphia was mildly interested in news that Penn had lost and then regained his province, had been imprisoned for debt because he placed too much confidence in the hypocritical Fords, and had taken a new wife named Hannah Callowhill, after the death of the lovely Guleilma.

The proprietor returned to Philadelphia in 1699. Soon after the city rejoiced with him when John Penn, eldest son of the younger line, was born in the Slate Roof house at the corner of Second street and Norris alley, now Sansom street. The Penn Charter schoolboys sent him a poem of congratulations.

The city now had two Friends' meeting houses, an Episcopal church and more than four hundred homes.

Trade flourished with the West Indies. The trees to which Penn had set so much store had been cut down. It was the price of commercial progress, so Penn reconciled himself to the despoilation.

Penn lived at Pennsbury in aristocratic fashion and he and his family made their visits to Philadelphia on horseback or on a six-oared barge on the river.

Before long the friction between the province and the landed proprietor became irksome. Mrs. Penn didn't relish the new world hardships. A daughter, Letitia, had become engaged to a young Philadelphian, William Masters, much to her parents' displeasure. In England there was a movement under foot to change all proprietary and charter colonies to royal colonies, all on the same basis, arguing the need of colonial unity and better defense against France. Penn returned to England. Philadelphia never saw him again. The city continued to grow.

Joshua Gee, of London, writing in 1729, said

> Pennsylvania within Forty years has made wonderful improvements; they have built a large and regular City, they have cleared great Tracts of Land, and raised very great Quantities of Wheat and other Provisions, and they have by way of Jamaica beat out a very great Trade for their Corn and Provisions to the Spanish West Indies; and if this Trade be properly nurs'd up, it may draw the Spanish Coast very much to depend on us for a Supply of Flower, Biskit, etc, which may be of great Advantage to us.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist, visited Philadelphia and wrote that in 1746 273 ships arrived and 293 sailed carrying on trade with the West Indies shipping flour, butter, flesh and other victuals, timber, plank and the like and receiving sugar, molasses, rum, indigo, mahogany and other goods. He commented upon the number of New Jersey folks who traded there every day.

Pennsylvania's state flower, the evergreen Mountain

Laurel (Kalmia latifolia) is named for this writer. He chose it as the most interesting American plant.

As the gridiron planned city grew out of its swaddling clothes, it not only was the birthplace of a great commonwealth, but took its place as the city where a mighty nation was born.

For 71 years the history of Philadelphia was the history of Pennsylvania. Events on the Ohio in 1753 shifted the scenes of action and the history of Pennsylvania as a state began.

The quarrels between the heirs of the Great Penn, as the Indians called him, and the colonists increased. One of the bitterest enemies of the landed proprietors was a distinguished citizen of Philadelphia, a printer, who was one of the most notable personalities of colonial times. The French considered him a savant. He combined a shrewd common sense with his knowledge that made him immortal.

The story of his life is pretty much the story of Philadelphia during his stay there. He planted the seed which grew into the University of Pennsylvania. He championed the 13 colonies' interests in the fight for independence, especially in France, whence came the aid that turned the tide. One cannot be said to have delved very deeply into the history of Philadelphia, or Pennsylvania, or the United States of America, without having read the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, acknowledged as "one of the greatest in the world". He loved Philadelphia. And he did as much as any man to make it great. Of the gridiron city he says in one place

> Our city, tho' laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, strait, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpav'd, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages plough'd them into a quagmire, so it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive.

Franklin "talked and wrote" about the subject in his newspaper until by a subscription he was enabled to secure street sweepers to remedy the annoyance, and when the question of paving came up "made the people willing to submit to a tax for that purpose".

So with the plans carried out for lighting the streets with the encouragement of one John Clifton, who gave "a sample of the utility of lamps". And so in the development of libraries, hospitals and philosophical societies and other organizations of enlightment. Franklin made America think and to put thought to work.

It is interesting to note that William Penn, the aristocratic Quaker founder of Philadelphia, in 1698, produced his "Plan for a union of the Colonies of America". Statesmen in England laughed it off as another whim of the visionary Penn. Benjamin Franklin, bitter enemy of the Penns who stood for aristocratic ideals repugnant to his republican ideas, in 1754, presented a Plan of Union drawn up at the Albany Congress, called at the instance of the Board of Trade and Plantations, to secure an American union on the eve of the Seven Years' War. This plan, too, fell by the wayside. The colonies thought it surrendered too much of their liberties. Parliament thought it would have too little control.

Benjamin Franklin exclaimed

> Everyone cries a union is absolutely necessary, but when it comes to the manner and form of the union, their weak noddles are perfectly distracted.

The time came when Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, cradled the First Continental Congress, which united the colonies in support of Massachusetts in her opposition to the coercive acts of the stamp tax imposed by Great Britain.

The United States of America was born in Philadelphia, July 4, 1776, in Independence Hall.

Independence Hall is a historical shrine. It is said to be the first building in America to be remodeled—five years after it was built about 1732. It served as the State House until 1818 when it was sold to the city for $70,000. About that time it was again remodeled and modernized. A little later an effort was made to restore it to its original appearance during the Revolution. Portraits and relics of the Revolution were added, including the Liberty Bell.

Scarcely an acre of ground, yea, a square yard, in the city but is linked in some significant way with the history of the commonwealth and the nation.

The temptation to present a bit of the present day is overwhelming even to the extent of including a few dry but vital statistics.

The gridiron plan was modified as the city grew. Some of the streets were made wider even than originally planned. Diagonal streets were laid down. Fairmont park of 3,500 acres became one of the most beautiful parks in the world, directly connecting with the business section of the city by the Fairmount Parkway, a magnificent highway which terminates at the imposing city hall. In time Penn's green country town included 123 parks and squares with an area of 6,500 acres or 711 square feet to every family. There appeared a 37 foot high statue of the founder resting on the heights of city hall, 548 feet above the pavements, to look over a city known as "the birthplace of a nation", or "the city of homes" or "the world's workshop", any one of which may accurately be applied.

Here Robert Morris financed the Revolution and Jay Cooke the Civil War. Here, the immigrant, Stephen Girard, became a mariner and banker, financed the War of 1812, and founded a college. Here lived Benjamin West, the painter; Joseph Hopkinson, who wrote Columbia the Gem of the Ocean; Thomas Buchanan Reed, the poet;

Bayard Taylor, Owen Wister, Richard Harding Davis and Edward Bok, all famous in the world of letters.

Philadelphia is conservative—so much so that it has been called "sleepy", far from the mark, considering the activity of its great mercantile, manufacturing and cultural establishments. There is no sign of lethargy in its textile mills and the bustle of the second largest sea port in the United States of America. Virtually everything is made at Philadelphia. The United States census classifies all industry into 317 primary products. Philadelphia manufactures 266 of such as primaries and most of the remainder as secondaries.

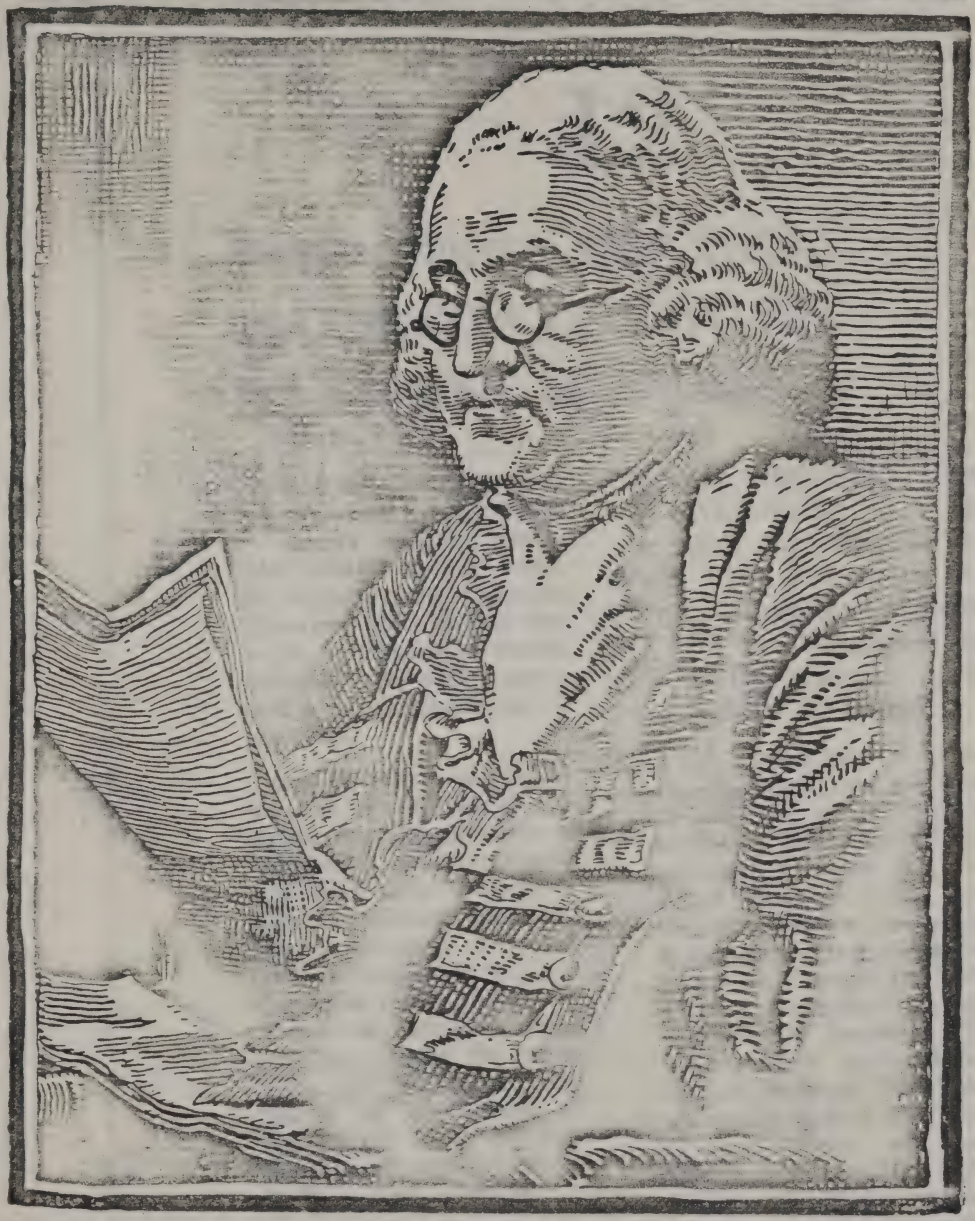
What would the Swedish writer say if confronted with the Chamber of Commerce statistics of today? Even in a year of sluggish commerce such as 1930 the port of Philadelphia handled $1,025,785,484 worth of commerce. The largest shipbuilding yards on the American continent are in Philadelphia and 55 percent of the entire United States shipbuilding is done on the Delaware river within the Philadelphia industrial area. Philadelphia Tidewater terminal has the largest piers and warehouses devoted exclusively to ocean commerce on the seaboard with one million square feet of covered storage space and docking facilities for fifteen ocean steamers simultaneously.

In 1930 there were 458,627 homes—50.7 percent of which were owned by their occupants. No wonder it is called "the city of homes". Its real estate in 1932 was assessed at $3,454,008,026.

Politically, it has been no more "corrupt and contented" than any other American municipality. William Makepeace Thackery called it "grave, calm, kind old Philadelphia".

Materially the city went far ahead of fulfilment of William Penn's dream of a "great city" even if the "green country town" vanished with the Quaker's dream of perfecting a holy experiment.

BENJ. FRANKLIN



".....the most accessible and the most mysterious public figure of the eighteenth century; he was the bantering bourgeois whose smile was never understood. However, Franklin had done more to develop Philadelphia and Pennsylvania than any other person; he was the first to give his country a sense of its national unity, to help it achieve its final victory .....He had found that the balance of all his ideas and of all his scientific moral and artistic concepts centered in the principle of utility."

—Bernard Fay

12

TWO NATIONS AND THEN TWO STATES FOUGHT FOR ITS GOLDEN TRIANGLE

THE historian, George P. Donehoo, calls Pittsburgh the only Scotch-Irish capital in the world. He explains that when the Ulsterman came to the new world he became a Scotch Irishman, however scarce such a nomenclature may be elsewhere.

For 37 years the flickering life of this infant settlement on the outskirts of civilization was threatened with destruction. Sometimes that life almost went out. The Scotch-Irish lover of conflict here had an environment to his liking. He carried on in those early days, and during the Revolution, left to his own resources by the armies of Washington, kept the hostile Indians and British in check as best he could.

With the years Pittsburgh became cosmopolitan. The

THE VIRGINIAN, George Washington, as a young man, inspected the forks of the Ohio, and wrote in his journal during that memorable trip over the Allegheny mountains as the emissary of Governor Robert Dinwiddie:

> I spent some time in viewing the rivers, and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat timbered land all around it very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quarter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Allegheny bearing north-east: and Monongahela, south-east. The form-

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TWO NATIONS AND THEN TWO STATES FOUGHT FOR ITS GOLDEN TRIANGLE

adjective "impassable" as applied to the Alleghenies, became obsolete, as steam and gasoline nurtured transportation.

This brief narrative is far from as comprehensive as the subject deserves. It is but a taste of what may be found by the student. Much of the material about the city, the historian, George Bancroft, called "the most enduring monument to William Pitt," was obtained from an "Early History of Western Pennsylvania," written by Isaac G. Rupp and published in 1848. Other sources included many volumes on th. theme in the Pennsylvania alcoves of the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh.

> er of these two is very rapid and swift running water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

His advice was followed by Virginia, only to have the French take over the fort as its foundations were being laid, and completing it themselves as Fort Duquesne, after the governor of Canada. Four years later the French burned their fort as General John Forbes approached over the Great Road he cut through the woods from the east. The next day, the general wrote a letter to Governor William Denny, of Pennsylvania, dated "Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, the 26th of November, 1758." And the day following that he wrote to William Pitt, the renowned English statesman,

> "I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Duquesne, as I hope it was in some measure being actuated by your spirits that now makes us Masters of the place * * * These dreary deserts will soon be the richest and most fertile of any possest by the British in No. America."

The first mention of the use of bituminous coal, which helped to make Pittsburgh a great industrial city, is by Colonel James Burd, who was opening the road from Gist's plantation, near the present Mount Braddock, Fayette county, to the mouth of Dunlay's Creek. He says in his journal for September 22, 1759

> The camp moved two miles to Coal Run. This run is entirely paved in the bottom with fine stone coal, and the hill on the south of it is a rock of the finest coal I ever saw. I burned about a bushel of it on my fire.

Rev. Charles Beatty, who visited Fort Pitt in 1760, writes in his journal of climbing "Coal Hill" across the Mocconghehela (Monongahela) river, and how workmen digging coal had left a fire burning when they went away, which was communicated

> to the body of the coals and set it on fire, and has now been burning almost a twelve month entirely under ground.

The Rev. Mr. Beatty had climbed the bluff (now Mt. Washington) to look over the surrounding country, found the earth warm, and feared that

> if the strata be large in this mountain it may become a volcano.

Within the next five years Colonel Henry Bouquet prevented the Indians from blotting out this frontier hamlet by his victory at Bushy Run and Col. John Campbell laid out four squares between Water and Second streets, and between Ferry and Market streets.

Both the colony of Virginia and the proprietaries of Pennsylvania laid claim to the territory around the place. Virginia pressed its claims by force to make it Fort Dunmore. There was considerable strife.. The proprietaries of Pennsylvania finally established their ownership definitely during the Revolution.

It was the policy of the Penns to reserve 500 acres out of every block of 5,000 acres which they had sold. The land reserved was called a manor. Such was the 4,861 acre Manor of Denmark in Westmoreland county on which the battle of Bushy Run was fought. There were many other manors throughout the commonwealth. The most valuable of all the Penns' reservation was the Manor of Pittsburgh, including 5,766 acres, and an allowance of six percent for roads, surveyed March 27, 1769, on a warrant dated January 5. The Penns could see that the acres between the two rivers at the head of Ohio navigation some day would be valuable. Lands south of the Ohio

also were reserved because the hills were even then known to be underlaid with coal.

On a tour of real estate inspection in October, 1770, George Washington arrived on his way to Kenawha. In his Journal for October 17 he says

> Dr. Craik and myself, with Capt. Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. (The crossings were at Connellsville). We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs, and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers but was not so near the "pitch of it" as Fort Duquesne stood. Two of the sides which were on the land side were of brick; and the other stockade. A moat encompassed it. The garrison consisted of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Capt. Edmondstone.

After the Revolution the legislature of the new state of Pennsylvania passed a "Divesting Act" (1779), by which the Penn heirs were given $600,000 for their lands, but carefully protecting their rights in all private property which included the manors in their own name. The English government gave them an annuity of 4,000 pounds additional. John Penn, grandson of the founder, was the last proprietor to govern the province. There were other heirs, some of whom lived in this country and others in England.

In May, 1784, arrangements were made by Tench Francis, attorney for John Penn, to lay out the manor of Pittsburgh, in town lots and out lots, and to sell them without delay. He engaged Colonel George Woods, of Bedford, to do the surveying, with Thomas Vickroy, also of Bedford, as assistant. The work was soon under way. That same year, Arthur Lee, Virginian and diplomatist of note, was appointed a commissioner to treat with the In-

dians. He passed through Pittsburgh and wrote in his journal:

> Pittsburgh is inhabited almost entirely by Scotch and Irish, who live in paltry log houses, and are as dirty as in the north of Ireland, or even Scotland. There is a great deal of small trade carried on; the goods being brought at the vast expense of 45 shillings per cwt. from Philadelphia and Baltimore. They take, in the shops, money, wheat, flour, and skins. They are in the town four attornies, two doctors, and not a priest of any persuasion, nor church, nor chapel. The rivers encroach fast on the town; and to such a degree, that, as a gentleman told me, the Allegheny had within thirty years of his memory, carried away one hundred yards. The place, I believe, will never be very considerable.

How unwise it is for future reputation to prophesy!

One of the attorneys mentioned later became Justice Hugh Henry Brackenridge. In 1786 this young barrister wrote a sketch for the first issue of the Pittsburgh Gazette. The outlook was rosier to John Scull and Joseph Hull, publishers, than that visualized by the diplomat. Brackenridge commented prettily upon the contest for supremacy of currents from the Monongahela and Allegheny river as either became more swollen than the other at the source of the Ohio.

He was lover of the rivers. He wrote

> The Fish of the Allegheny are harder and firmer than those of the Monongahela or Ohio; owing, as is supposed, to the greater coldness and purity of the water

Waste water from mine and mill has relegated such descriptions to mere historical references! He went on to say

> At the head of the Ohio stands the town of Pittsburgh, on an angular piece of ground, the two rivers forming the two sides of the angle. Just at the point, stood, when I first came to this country, a tree, leaning against which I have often overlooked the wave, or, committing my gar-

> ments to its shade, have bathed in the transparent tide. How I regretted its undeserved fate, when the early winter's flood tore it from the roots and left the bank bare.

Pittsburgh then was in Westmoreland county, and the inhabitants had to travel to Hannastown, about 30 miles, to attend court.

Commenting on transportation from Philadelphia costing sixpence for each pound weight the writer in later issues of the Pittsburgh Gazette predicted

> However improved the conveyance may be, and by whatever channel, the importation of heavy articles will still be expensive. The manufacturing them, therefore, will become more an object here than elsewhere.

And it did!

All the area west of the Alleghenies has contributed to the making of the Golden Triangle.

In 1780 William Crawford, surveyor of Yohogania county (claimed by Virginia) wrote in his survey book, about a tract of land warranted to Benjamin Johnston,

> Being on the Yohogany river, and to include a bank of iron ore.

This was the first record of iron ore in the territory. Sir Walter Raleigh was first to find iron ore in America near Jamestown.

The first attempt at making pig iron west of the Allegheny mountains was by William Turnbull and Peter Marmie, of Philadelphia, who built a furnace and forge on Jacob's Creek in 1790. This was known as the Alliance Iron Works and was not far from the mouth of Jacob's Creek on the Fayette county side.

Louis Anastasius Tarascon, a French immigrant, had established an extensive business in Philadelphia in 1799. He sent Charles Brugiere and James Berthoud, to Pittsburgh to ascertain whether ships could be built there and

sent to the West Indies and Europe. The report was favorable and for a time a complete ship yard flourished in this inland city, with vessels sailing to far distant ports.

Some comment on the huge production of coke (coke bears the same relationship to bituminous coal that charcoal does to wood) which has helped give Pittsburgh its economic supremacy must not be overlooked. In the bulletin of "Metallurgical Coke," United States Department of Mines, it is stated

> The first coke in the United States was made on the ground in mounds, similar to the burning of charcoal, in 1817, at Plumcock, Fayette county, Pennsylvania. The first use of coke ovens for the making of coke was in the year 1841, where the Fayette Works stands in Fayette county. In 1859 the successful use of coke as a blast furnace fuel was thoroughly demonstrated and thirty ovens were built at the Fayette Coke Works. From that time coke manufacture increased by leaps and bounds.

The story of Pittsburgh's steel industry development would fill volumes. Pittsburgh naturally was the center of all manufacturing activities west of the Alleghenies from the very first.

A tree of industry, finance, commerce and culture with many branches has grown on the triangle where the young Brackenridge mourned for that other tree which sheltered his clothes when he went swimming. Two wide stone and steel bridges span the two rivers from that apex. Others carry endless streams of modern traffic over the three rivers every so many blocks. Skyscrapers reach from the valley bottom almost as high as the surrounding bluffs. Tunnels pierce the hillsides. Bridges and boulevards stretch out over hill and dale to all points of the compass.

For three decades after the English log cabins arose from the smouldering ruins of a French fort it was a place where Scotch-Irish settlers fought against annihila-

Pittsburgh
In the 1760's
As it probably would have appeared
from an airplane—if there had
been airplanes

tion. A city grew around the site of the fort for which two nations had fought during a war that rocked Europe and America—an irregularly laid out city. Its people cut their city out of the forests and the rocks and wrestled for control of the land with the river floods, while the savages from nearby Indian country held maintenance of home and life at a premium.

The city reached further and further from the apex and spilled over the sides along the banks of the three rivers, with yellow windows glowing in the darkness from the hilltops at night. The free lands of the great bowl of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys attracted thousands of men and women, on foot, on horseback or behind plodding oxen. Conestoga wagons lumbered over the mountains. Pittsburgh was the last supply station before plunging into the great west. These people needed plows, guns, blankets, horseshoes, axes, crocks. The townspeople made these things.

The "impassible Alleghenies" and contact with the Mississippi valley kept Pittsburgh aloof from Pennsylvania, of which it was a part, for a time. The French and Indian war and the Whiskey Rebellion widened the breach. It was easier to trade with New Orleans 2,000 miles away than to ship to Philadelphia only a few hundred miles distant. Gradually, as its importance as the gateway to the west and south grew, the city prepared to take its rightful place in Pennsylvania affairs.

The Republican party was born in Pittsburgh in 1856. Its first president, Abraham Lincoln, had the tremenduous job of maintaining the union of states. It was not until the Civil War that the "State of Allegheny," as Lincoln called it, successfully challenged the control maintained by Philadelphia over the commonwealth.

Pioneering in clearing forest land for grain growing turned to manufacturing in earnest about that time. Be-

fore long steam enabled men to speed up the boats on the rivers, thresh more grain, plant more land, dig more coal, shape more steel.

The city became an industrial titan, with avenues of smoke stacks; furnaces glowed with molten metal; mills grew big; Lake Superior iron ore mines were requisitioned. There was coal to be taken from the hills. There were rails and pipe to make. The world was calling for glass. Earth's reservoirs were to be tapped for the hidden riches of gas and oil. Bricks, ropes, machines and more machines as electricity came to join steam in furnishing power, had to be provided.

Just by way of contrast a glimpse of modern days is not out of place.

Even in economic depression years such as 1932 the value of land and buildings in that section of the city known as the Golden Triangle, comprising the 1st, 2nd and 3rd wards, was given at $379,769,420, with Allegheny county's real estate value placed at $1,817,967,240.

Before the Great War the Chamber of Commerce proudly boasted that railroads and rivers combined shipped an annual tonnage of 175,000,000 tons—twice as great as that of New York, London, Marseilles and Liverpool combined and seven times greater than the traffic through the Suez Canal. Even in a year of low economic average everywhere such as 1931 the total tonnage was given as 108,462,787 tons.

The list of "largest in the world" industrial plants is impressive, including a tube and pipe mill, structural steel, wire manufacturing, glass manufacturing, aluminum finishing, electrical appliances, rail mill.

Making one big city out of the many clustering around the forks was not accomplished without argument. It still is incomplete. It took a United States Supreme

Court decision to make Allegheny City (northside) a part of Pittsburgh.

The friction of intense industry combined with the fogs of three rivers brought the sobriquet of "The Smoky City" and the coining of the word Smog. The smoke-stacks, spouting fire at night like miniature volcanos led to the graphic simile "Hell with the lid off." Muckrakers found unpleasant things. Parts of the dynamic city even yet are ugly. But its hills, valleys and rivers have a beauty waiting to be called to life. Industry made wealth and wealth brought leisure. The factors which make a city great in a spiritual as well as a material sense are at work.

Here the world brings its best paintings to be judged at great exhibits in Carnegie galleries. Here a cultural center, with the Gothic architectural masterpiece of the University of Pittsburgh Cathedral of Learning, costing $10,000,000 and towering over Carnegie Institute and other institutions, has been developed.

Here was the home of Stephen Collins Foster, who wrote "Down Upon the Swanee River"; Charles Wakefield Cadman and Ethelbert Nevin, immortal musicians; Henry Clay Frick, Andrew Carnegie, the Mellon brothers, giant industrialists, and Mary Roberts Rinehart, novelist.

Defining the intangible "riches" of the extended Golden Triangle Chancellor John Gabbert Bowman, of the university, said

> Pittsburgh is the center of wealth and of industry. It is a center for the making of steel, glass and machinery. Vast tonnage production, in the minds of millions of people, is associated with the city. But all of this is only one phase of the real Pittsburgh. There is a provincial way of thinking here and a provincial way of doing; there is courage, daring, speed of action, and honor, out of which have come the wealth, the manufacturing, and the tonnage production. This spirit was brought here by the pioneers. Then, under pioneer conditions it grew and grew until it became an outstanding quality in the entire district.

13

AN INFLUENTIAL ONE-THIRD TOO SELDOM EMPHASIZED

FEW histories of Pennsylvania or of the nation devote enough attention to German influence in settlement and development. Yet from the beginning down to the present day the German stock formed at least one-third of the population and exercised a profound influence on the Quaker and Scotch Irish commonwealth and on neighboring states, especially those to the south and west.

American civilization did not "enter by the New England door" as some writers have it. In point of time Virginia was first and in point of quiet but lasting influence, especially in the state, not called the Keystone for naught, and later in the great west, the Pennsylvania German was first and permanent. The Puritan ideals had more publicity, because of English origin. England was, until the Revolution, the governing coun-

IN THE fourth and fifth centuries "Volkerwanderung" brought Allemanic hordes from eastern Asia to middle Europe. Colonization of Prussia and Silesia followed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century this "Wanderlust" (so strangely combined with love of home and country), sent the Palatines and Swiss from the district now known as Alsace Lorraine to Pennsylvania, there to take root, and to build new homes for themselves and their children and their children's children. Their Pietistic background was and is a solid foundation for civilization's advancement.

* * *

When William Penn became a Quaker he was filled with missionary fervor. Following a missionary journey to Holland and Germany in 1677 he reported

13

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IN THE fourth and fifth centuries "Volkerwanderung" brought Allemanic hordes from eastern Asia to middle Europe. Colonization of Prussia and Silesia followed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century this "Wanderlust" (so strangely combined with love of home and country), sent the Palatines and Swiss from the district now known as Alsace Lorraine to Pennsylvania, there to take root, and to build new homes for themselves and their children and their children's children. Their Pietistic background

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* * *

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try, and her language became the language of the new world.

This essay owes much to Oscar Kuhns' "The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch," as well as publications of the Pennsylvania German Society.

> And I must tell you that there is a breathing, hungering seeking people, solitarily scattered up and down the great land of Germany, where the Lord hath sent me.

Penn visited Briel in Holland and Frankford - on - the - Main, Kriegsheim, near Worms, on the upper Rhine, and Mulheim-on-the-Ruhr. His visit coincided with the great pietistic movement when religion went "from the head to the heart" and "collegia pietatis", or meetings for the study of the bible—one might call them adult bible classes—were held everywhere, in Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and even England.

In fact some authorities declare that Mennonite (a protestant non-resistant sect founded by Menno Simon) teachings were the sources of inspiration for the Quaker founder, George Fox. William Penn was among kindred souls on his visits to the Rhineland.

After Penn received his grant of land in the new world there appeared in London a pamphlet entitled "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America." A translation appeared in Amsterdam almost simultaneously.

Quakers and Mennonites at Kriegsheim read of the possessions of the quiet and gentle Englishman who had visited them and how under his laws liberty of conscience was promised all who should settle in the new colony.

Francis Daniel Pastorius was perhaps the best educated man to immigrate to America. His learning is evident in a book he wrote macaronically in Greek, Latin, French, Dutch, English, Italian and Spanish called "The Beehive." He compiled it for his children and included

proverbs, verse, and comments on many subjects. The full title is "Alvearum Apiculae Germanopolitanum Anglicanum." His poetry was mostly doggerel as

> This book seems tall and small,
> Of no esteem at all;
> Yet would I very fain
> That any who doth find
> The same would be so kind
> To send it me again.

This scholar voiced the outlook of the peace loving Palatines with

> After I had sufficiently seen the European provinces and countries and the threatening movements of war, and had taken to heart the dire changes and disturbances of the Fatherland, I was impelled, through a special guidance from the Almighty, to go to Pennsylvania.

* * *

Memories of the devastating Thirty Years' War persisted. The beginning of the German migration, however, dates from about 1685 when Louis XIV, of France, feeling his inability to cope singlehanded with the mighty coalition of England, Holland and Germany, determined that

> If the soil of the Palatinate was not to furnish supplies to the French it should be so wasted that it would at least furnish no supplies to the Germans.

Louis approved the famous order of his war minister, Louvois, to "bruler le Palatinat." The destruction that followed was appalling, as so vividly described by the English historian, Macaulay.

* * *

Pastorius became the special agent of the Frankfort company and the advance courier of the prospective settlers of Germantown, arriving in Philadelphia, August 16, 1683.

On October 6 of the same year, thirteen men and their families from Crefeld and Kriegsheim arrived at Philadelphia on board the good ship Concord; an appropriate name, indeed, considering how well the "German Quakers," as the Mennonites were called, got along with the English Quakers!

William Penn gave them a colony site (2,750 acres) separated from Philadelphia by a stretch of primeval forest broken only by a narrow bridle-path. Pastorius says people made a pun on the name of the settlement, calling in "Armentown," because of the lack of supplies. He said

> It could not be described, nor will it be believed by coming generations, in what want and need and with what Christian contentment and persistent industry the German township started.

Soon this state of affairs gave way to one of comparative comfort.

On October 22, 1684, William Streypers (who had written to his brother the year before for provisions) wrote

> I have been busy and made a brave dwelling-house, and under it a cellar fit to live in; and I have so much grain, such as Indian corn and buckwheat, that this winter I shall be better off than I was last year.

The same month Cornelius Bom wrote to Rotterdam

> I have here a shop of many kinds of goods and edibles. Sometimes I ride out with merchandise, and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many ways . . . I have no rent or tax or excise to pay. I have a cow which gives plenty of milk, a horse to ride around; my pigs increase rapidly, so that in the summer I had seventeen, where at first I had only two. I have many chickens and geese, and a garden, and shall next year have an orchard, if I remain well, so that my wife and I are in good spirits.

At the Mennonite monthly meeting at Thones Konders' house, Pastorius, Dirck Hendricks and the Op den Graeff brothers presented the famous petition against slavery in 1688, the first instance of the kind in America. Benjamin Furley, Penn's agent in Holland, who directed the German migration to America, had looked over the Quaker's Frame of Government for the new province and suggested that a prohibition against slavery be included. His influence bore fruit at that long ago "German Quaker" meeting.

> This is to ye monthly meeting held at Richard Worrell's. These are the reasons why we are against the traffik of men-body, as followeth. Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz, to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearful and faint-hearted are many on sea, when they see a strange vessel—being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be taken, and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done, as Turks doe? Yea, rather is it worse for them which say they are Christians, for we hear that ye most part of such negers are brought hitherto against their will and consent, and that many of them are stolen. Now tho they are black we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men like as we will be done ourselves; making no difference of what generation, descent or colour they are. And those who steal or rob men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not alike? Here is liberty of conscience, which is right and reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body, except of evil-doers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black colour. And we who know that men must not commit adultery—some do commit adultery, in others, separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of these poor creatures to other men. Ah! doe consider well this thing, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according to Christianity? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This makes an ill report in all

Quaker's Forms of Government for the new provinces and suggested that a prohibition against slavery be included. His influence bore fruit at that long ago "German Quaker" meeting.

those countries of Europe, where tney hear of, that ye Quakers doe here handel men as they handel there ye cattle. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or pleid for it? Truly we who cannot do so, except you shall inform us better hereof, viz, that Christians have liberty to practise these things. Pray, what thing in the world can be done worse towards us, than if men should rob or steal us away, and sell us for slaves to strange countries; separating husbands from their wives and children. Being now this is not done in the manner we would be done at therefore we contradict and are against this traffik of men-body. And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must, likewise, avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible. And such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye robbers, and set free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsylvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quakers doe rule in their province—and most of them doe look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men) should point themselves—fight for their freedom—and handel their masters and mastresses as they did handel them before; will these masters and mastresses take the sword at hand and warr against these poor slaves, licke, we are able to believe, some will not refuse to doe; or have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? And in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire and require you hereby lovingly that you may inform us herein, which at this time never was done, viz, that Christians have such a liberty to do so. To the end we shall be satisfied in this point, and satisfie likewise our good friends and acquaintances on our natif country, to whom it is a terror, or fearful thing that men should be handled so in Pennsylvania.

This is from our meeting at Germantown, held ye 18 of the 2 month, 1688, to be delivered to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Worrell's.

Garrett hendericks
derick up de graeff
Francis daniell Pastorius
Abraham up Den graef

This document was duly presented to the "English" Quakers who referred it to their quarterly meeting and then to the Annual Meeting, which took no action. The time was not ripe.

The Mennonites in this attitude against slavery as well as their opposition to war were far ahead of their era.

William Rittinghuysen, in 1690, built the first paper mill in the colonies on a Wissahickon creek branch.

This was the beginning of the story of the Pennsylvania Germans. The story includes a paper mill to meet the thirst for books among these people and a protest against slavery!

Other Palatines floated down the Rhine, passed through The Hoofd-poort at Rotterdam, crossed the pirate-infested and stormy Atlantic and joined the group in Germantown within a few years.

In 1694 Johann Kelpius, a learned man full of vagaries, piloted a band of mystics from the Palatinate to the banks of the Wissahickon to "await the coming of Christ." They crossed the sea in the Santa Maria after many hardships. Other odd protestant religious sects followed.

* * *

The attitude of early German Pietist settlers on taking governmental responsibility (with the years their views changed!) is to be noted in the case of Germantown

which was incorporated as a borough in 1691 but about 1704 lost its charter because no one was willing to accept the various offices. The records of this short-lived municipality read like an extract from Irving's "Diedrich Knickerbocker." Even as late as 1795 the Moravian Bishop Ettwein deplored the dereliction of

> some of the brethren in Lancaster who had joined a political body called the Democrats and even accepted office therein.

* * *

Along about 1710 the Swiss Mennonite wave of settlers began. In Holland the Mennonites were free and prosperous. In Berne and Zurich they were persecuted and exiled. Of all their doctrines, that of refusing to bear arms was the most obnoxious to the state, which depended on its citizens for defense in time of aggression. The Swiss unsuccessfully tried enforced migration, after the exiles refused to stay put in the Palatinate. Holland and England would not cooperate.

Eventually the Mennonite brethren of Holland, financed their co-religionists and Switzerland got rid of some of its problems. A settlement on Pequea creek, Conestoga (later Lancaster county) followed, with Hans Herr and Martin Kindig as leaders.

In Queen Anne's time a large number of Palatines came to England seeking aid to cross to the new world. The situation was embarrassing to the government; too many foreigners. Three thousand eight hundred were sent to Ireland, others to the Carolinas and 3,000 to New York. The latter were to manufacture ships' stores for the English government on Governor Robert Hunter's suggestion. The plan didn't work. Many of them settled in the Mohawk territory later. Others made their way through the wilderness to the headwaters of the Susquehanna and thence floated down that river to Swatara

Creek, settling in Tulpehocken, now a part of Berks county.

There was an intermittent trickle of German immigrants to Pennsylvania for the next few years. Governor William Keith in 1717 expressed alarm at the influx of Germans, fearing that the experience of England in the time of the Anglo Saxon invaders might be repeated.

Alarm again was excited by the coming of foreigners in 1727 when the Provincial Council adopted a resolution to the effect that all masters of vessels importing Germans and other foreigners should prepare a list of such persons, their occupations and place whence they came. Further, all such foreigners should sign a declaration of allegiance and subjection to the king of Great Britain and of fidelity to the Proprietary of Pennsylvania.

Figures compiled from Pennsylvania Archives show that from that date until 1775, or the outbreak of the Revolution, 68,872 German immigrants had come into Pennsylvania. This, of course, does not include those arriving before 1727.

These newcomers included Mennonites, Moravians, Dunkers, Lutherans, Schwenckfelders, Reformeds (founded by Zwingli) and other protestant sects. They were prolific and raised big families, multiplying rapidly.

As the lands east of the Susquehanna became taken up, the settlers went across the river spreading fan shape north, south and west. They made their way into the Cumberland valley and down the Shenandoah valley in Virginia and toward the "impassible Alleghenies."

In fact they spread wherever there was good farming land, preferably limestone, the best soil for farming purposes.

They had indomitable industry, earnestness, frugality and consummate agricultural skill—just the virtues nec-

essary for establishing permanent homes in the wilderness.

But not only did these people make gardens out of the wilderness

Many of the Germantown folks became weavers.

There was a good use for the product of Rittinghuysen's paper mill.

Christopher Sauer, the Germantown Dunker (a sect practicing immersion when baptizing in contradistinction to the Mennonites, who sprinkled) printed the first bible in America in 1743. It was printed in German. Three editions were printed before the first English bible appeared in Philadelphia in 1782.

Sauer persuaded his friend, the Mennonite school master, Christopher Dock, of Skippack, to write and print a description of his unusual method of keeping school. Dock refused at first, because he said it would be sinful to praise himself. One of his teaching methods was to have pupils write letters to each other with the teacher as postman. Dock's somewhat ornate "Schrifften," fanciful pictures of birds, flowers, vines from the bible, are the delight of antiquarians. Dock completed his book in 1750 but would not allow it to be printed during his lifetime. Finally in 1770 the younger Sauer printed the book, the first volume on pedagogy in America.

Dock also wrote "A Hundred Necessary Rules for Children." Rule 61 reads

> To your fellow scholars show yourself kind and peaceable, do not quarrel with them, do not kick them, do not soil their clothes with your shoes or with ink, give them no nicknames, and behave yourself in every respect toward them as you would that they should behave towards you.

Rule No. 80 might prove embarrassing today

> Do not talk during the sermon, and if others talk to you do not answer. If you are sleepy, stand up a little and try to keep it off.

The approach of the French and Indian war alarmed the Mennonites and they once more feared persecution because of their principles against the bearing of arms. They sought to fortify themselves by reading of the heroic deeds of their ancestors, who had suffered martyrdom from the time of the apostles down to the Swiss regime. They asked the Ephrata Community (the only Protestant monastery in America) to translate from the Dutch, Van Braght's "Bloedig Tomell" into the German "Blutige Schauplatz oder Martyrer Spiegel" (Martyr's Mirror.) It took 15 men headed by the great linguist, John Peter Miller, three years to make the largest book published in America. This was in 1748. The price was about $5.50. The tome was printed in large clear type, bound in strong leather and secured with heavy brass clasps. It contained 1500 pages and was 10 by 15 inches in size.

During the Revolution, American soldiers, who failed to understand the non-resistant viewpoint, seized unsold volumes and used the paper for "wads" in their muzzle loaders, which were fired at the British and their Hessian hirelings.

The Germans in Pennsylvania often were misunderstood by their English-speaking neighbors. Language and customs differed. Even the great Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Peter Collinson in 1753 appears to have considered "ignorant" to mean "ignorance of the English language." He added

> Few of their children in the country know English. They import many books from Germany, and of the six printing houses in the province two are entirely German, two half German, half English, and but two are entirely English. They have one German newspaper and one half English.

It is a difficult thing for people of any age or country to give a just estimate of another nationality, with whose language and customs they are unacquainted.

Franklin had his troubles getting these peace loving people to furnish supplies for the disasterous Braddock expedition. Later Franklin felt more kindly toward the Germans—when he understood them better. He got some of their business and printed books for them!

The Pennsylvania German for years got along famously with the Indian, although about the time of the Pontiac insurrection he bore the brunt of the suffering along the frontier.

Conrad Weiser for many years was the official interpreter and agent for Pennsylvania among the Indians. When the French and Indian war came he raised a battalion. It was his effort which kept the Six Nations friendly to the English during that struggle.

The Royal American regiment which in 1758 accompanied General John Forbes on that memorable road building exploit westward to change the French Fort Duquesne to the English Fort Pitt consisted of four battalions of 1,000 men each—largely Pennsylvania Germans. Michael Schlatter, a native of St. Gall, Switzerland, and counted the father of the Reformed church in America, was chaplain of the regiment. Schlatter came to Pennsylvania in 1746 under the auspices of the Reformed Synod of Holland. He held for a time the post equivalent to the first superintendent of public schools in Pennsylvania.

A part of this same regiment in 1763 was with Colonel Henry Bouquet (a Swiss from Canton Vaud) at Bushy Run, and shoulder to shoulder with the Scotch Highlanders of the Black Watch, helped to keep the road open for the westward advance of white civilization during this turning point of the Pontiac uprising.

These soldiers brought home glowing accounts of the farming possibilities west of the mountains.

By 1765 there were so many Pennsylvania Germans west of the Alleghenies John Herold and others pre-empted a tract of 158 acres in Hempfield township, Westmoreland county, for church and school purposes. They called it "Good Purpose." The first schoolmaster and Lutheran catechist was Balthaser Meyer. Buildings for Zion Lutheran church (Old Harrolds) and schoolhouse were completed in 1772, the first church and first school west of the Alleghenies.

The evils of the redemptioner system by which the immigrant sold his or her services for a number of years in lieu of ship passage fare to the new world were not peculiar to the Germans although much has been written about it. In the previous century French Huguenots called "engages" went to the West Indies under similar arrangements. All the colonies except New England practiced it. Of course, where a difference of language existed fraudulent merchants and unscrupulous ship captains could and did take advantage of many an unfortunate redemptioner, the worst cases occuring after the Revolution.

When the Revolutionary war came along the German residents of Pennsylvania were zealous. A love for independence and a hatred for tyranny has ever been a distinguishing trait of the Palatine and Swiss. Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist, as far back as 1754, predicted that Pennsylvanians had no love for the English and in 30 or 40 years would be independent. The visitor read the trend rightly.

German regiments and companies, Pennsylvania Archives show, were plentiful in all German counties after the outbreak of the Revolution.

In 1772 John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg was pastor of a German church at Woodstock, Va. He preached on the wrongs of the colonies, ending with

PLAN OF THE BATTLE, NEAR BUSHY RUN

Gen.ˡ Bouquet and his Army with the

Delawares, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wyandots, Mohikons, Miamies & Ottawas

under the Command of Captain Scott

Supported by the Pittsburgh Regiment and Virginia Volunteers

PLAN of the BATTLE near MUSKINGUM

Delawares Shawanese Mingoes Wyandots Mohikons Munsies & Ottawas.

Excerpt From Bronze Tablet at Bushy Run Battlefield Park in Penn Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania:

On this hilltop the westward advance of civilization in America was assured in the most decisive victory ever gained by the White Man over the Indian.

When the French and Indian War ended with the peace of February 10, 1763, France ceded Canada and the vast territory west of the Allegheny mountains to Great Britain. The Indians refused to accept peace. Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, achieved the only approach in all history of any unity of action by American Indian tribes. Daily a stick from a bundle furnished each tribe was broken. When the last rod was snapped a simultaneous attack took place. Eight forts fell. Forts Detroit, Niagara and Pitt were surrounded.

General Jeffrey Amherst, British commander in America, sent Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss soldier, who assisted General John Forbes build the Great Road in 1758, to the relief of Fort Pitt, the gateway to the west.

Bouquet left Carlisle with 900 soldiers, 340 packhorses loaded with flour, some ox wagons and other supplies, following Forbes Road through Forts Bedford and Ligonier, leaving it a few miles east of this emiinence to traverse what later became the Hannastown Road. His forces were attacked by 1500 Indians under Chief Guyasuta at Bushy Run, immediately west of here, August 5, 1763. Annihilation seemed certain. After a night of horror on this hilltop with the wounded protected by a barricade of bags of flour the Indians were routed by stratagem as told in Bouquet's own words on tablets nearby. Bouquet rebuilt the Blockhouse at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) and pursued the Indians into the Ohio wilderness, compelling them to release hundreds of white prisoners.

The war known as Pontiac's Conspiracy officially ended by proclamation of Governor John Penn on December 5, 1764. Bouquet was made a Brigadier General by King George III, of Great Britain, in April, 1765, and transferred to Pensacola, Florida. He died there the following August.

The map nearby is a reproduction of a drawing made by Bouquet's own engineer on this site.

> There is a time for all things—a time to preach and a time to fight, and that time has now come.

Thereupon he put off his gown, showed himself in Continental uniform and ordered the drums to beat at the church door for recruits.

It is interesting to note that this Pennsylvania Lutheran minister, who became such a close friend of Washington, had to receive English Episcopal ordination before he was allowed to preach in Virginia. Freedom of worship was peculiar to Pennsylvania of all the colonies. The Germans for this reason as well as their dislike for slavery helped save the region west of the Alleghenies for Pennsylvania during the boundary dispute with Virginia.

Historians with a penchant for stressing destiny-shaping events place importance upon the speed with which Capt. George Nagel of Reading and other commanders led their Pennsylvania German troops to Boston immediately after congress had authorized the raising of troops in 1775 and how Pennsylvania German troops helped prevent the cutting of the colonies in two by the British at the Battle of Long Island.

Even more significant is the part the Pennsylvania Germans played in shaping the destiny of the country in 1776. The Pennsylvania assembly, largely controlled by the Quakers, refused to take action for setting up a new state body under separation from the mother country, as did other colonies. Finally on June 18, 1776, the first Pennsylvania government at which all classes were represented was formed. The Pennsylvania German then secured the vote formerly denied him because of birth and helped swing the tide toward independence. The old assembly later in the summer died of inaction.

David Rittenhouse, the famous astronomer, entered the patriot ranks as an engineer.

Michael Hillegas, the Journal of Congress shows, was the first treasurer of the United States from 1775 to 1789.

If, as Napoleon is supposed to have said, an army "travels on its stomach," it was a Pennsylvania German who saw to it that the forces of Washington travelled when necessary. Records of Congress, May 30, 1777, say

> Resolved, That Christopher Ludwick be, and is hereby appointed Superintendent of Bakers and Director of Baking in the army of the United States.

This native of Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, became a successful baker in Philadelphia. At one of the Provincial conventions early in the Revolution Gen. Thomas Mifflin proposed to open a private subscription for purchase of fire arms. There was opposition and Ludwick (Ludwig) rose to his feet and in broken English said

> Mr. President, I am but a poor gingerbread baker, but put me down for two hundred pounds.

When a committee of congress notified him of his appointment as superintendent of baking for the United States forces, it proposed that for every pound of flour he should furnish the army with a pound of bread. He replied

> No, gentlemen, I will not accept your commission on such terms. I do not wish to grow rich by the war; I have money enough, I will furnish 135 pounds of bread for every hundred pounds of flour you put into my hands.

The committee did not know of the increase of weight which flour acquires by the addition of water and leaven. After the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, Ludwick baked 6,000 pounds of bread to supply the needs of the British army.

Rupp in his history tells of an iron tablet made by Hanks & Niles, Cincinnati, in 1834, one of the first of its

kind west of the Alleghenies to be placed on a grave. The tablet read

JACOB YODER
was born in Reading, Pennsylvania
August 11, 1755
And was a Soldier in the Revolutionary Army
in 1777 and 1778;
He emigrated to the west in 1780, and in May,
1782, From Fort Redstone, on the
Monongahela River,
in the
First Flat Boat
that ever descended the Mississippi,
He landed at New Orleans with a cargo of
Produce.
He died April 17, 1832, at his farm in Spencer
county, Kentucky, and lies here
interred beneath this tablet.

Christopher Yoder was one of the many Pennsylvania German soldiers in the Revolution. Wanderlust took him and many others of his blood further west. Yoder became the first flat boat "sailor" on the Mississippi —a beginning which was to grow to enormous proportions with the years as Pittsburgh and the great west grew.

One of the most prominent Pennsylvania German families of early days was the Muhlenberg clan. The father was Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, who married the daughter of Conrad Weiser, and who is counted the patriarch of the Lutheran church in America.

One of his sons, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg became speaker of the first House of Representatives of the United States April 1, 1789.

Illustrative of the Pennsylvania German influence in the young nation are these somewhat querulous words of John Adams, concerning Frederick and his brother, Peter,

> These two Germans, who had been long in public affairs and in high offices, were the great leaders and oracles of the whole German interest in Pennsylvania and the neighboring states . . . The Muhlenbergs turned the whole body of the Germans, great numbers of the Irish, and many of the English, and in this manner introduced the total change that followed in both Houses of the Legislature, and in all the executive departments of the national government. Upon such slender threads did our elections then depend.

Note the significance of that last sentence written by a participant in events during the formative days of the United States!

Upholding Adams' appraisal of the German influence on the state and nation is Franklin's comment

> For I remember when they modestly declined inter-meddling with our elections; but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties.

More than half of the Germans in Pennsylvania took an active part in the Revolution. However, the conscientious scruples of the Mennonites, Dunkards, Schwenckfelders, Moravians and other sects were respected. There was a sharp division in some quarters among the Mennonites themselves relative to paying the special war tax. Discussing this question at a meeting in Montgomery county Preacher Christian Funk said

> Were Christ here, He would say Give Congress that which belongs to Congress and God that which is God's.

He was excommunicated! Mennonites and other non-resistant sects generally escaped taking the oath of allegiance (their religion forbade swearing but permitted affirming) by payment of fines. These non-combatants contributed heavily to the patriotic cause in other ways than on the field of battle. The Moravians at Lititz and Bethlehem, along with other non-resistant communities, furnished hospitalization for the patriotic army. Mennonite grist mill owners furnished food. Dunkards furn-

ished horses or clothing. Iron works throughout the German counties of Pennsylvania furnished cannon and ammunition.

In 1782 John William Weber, Reformed pastor of the Brush Creek settlement in Westmoreland county, established the first religious organization in Pittsburgh, the present Smithfield street German Evangelical Protestant church. The Jesuit priests had ministered to the French, Presbyterian circuit riders had preached to the Scotch Irish, but from 1758, when Fort Pitt was established until 1782, there was no established church in Pittsburgh—not until a Pennsylvania German gathered the Reformed and Lutheran people to build an organization.

Franklin's change of heart in his old age relative to the Germans in Pennsylvania is well illustrated by his subscription of 200 pounds sterling to a college named for him in Lancaster in 1787. Franklin college (later combined with Marshall college of Mercersburg as Franklin and Marshall college) was the 15th college established in the United States. It was the first American college intended exclusively for the education of the youth of German extraction. Gottlieb Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, brother of Frederick and Peter, was a noted botanist, and one of the founders of the institution.

It is a far cry from the hymns of Count Zinzendorf at Moravian Bethlehem in colonial days to more recent times when Paul E. Beck, of Lititz, became first director of music for the state of Pennsylvania. But it indicates the love of music by the cultured Pennsylvania German; not overlooking that the first pipe organs in America were built in Lititz by David Tanneberger shortly after the close of the Revolution.

There still are communities, especially in eastern counties of the state where there remains a distinct ethnical entity with its peculiar religious forms, its own

customs and even its own type of figure and countenance. The vernacular known as Pennsylvania Dutch (evidently a corruption of Deutsch) remains. However, the great majority of the descendants of the early Swiss and German settlers have been completely assimilated by the Anglo-Saxon element of the American stock. Some remained on the ancestral farms. More have gone to the larger cities and to southern and western states. Wanderlust took many a family beyond the Alleghenies to make gardens and to build cities on the rolling prairie land of the Mississippi bowl and thus to fashion a great nation. These have been intermarried with English neighbors, and Anglicized their names. There are probably thousands of Americans who are unaware of their Pennsylvania German descent.

The combination of Anglo-Saxon energy, individual initiative, power of self-government with the Pennsylvania German elements of steadiness, probity and conservatism makes for good American citizenship.

Who's Who today contains many names of Pennsylvania German origin in all branches of American activity.

This chapter has dealt only with the Germanic influence in the formative days of the commonwealth and the nation. It has tried to show that while Pennsylvania owes much to the Quaker and much to the Scotch Irish (these two were first to congregate in cities,) the debt is fully as great to the German, who built solidly, first in agriculture, then in manufacturing, the professions and government.

AM a Pennsylvanian, in heart and soul; and whatever can advance the interest or promote the glory of my good old native State, God bless her! shall ever find in me a devoted advocate. I am proud of my State; and State pride springs from that commendable and natural feeling—that love of our native land—which Heaven, for the wisest purposes, has implanted in the human breast:

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wanderings on a foreign strand?"

James Buchanan, during address in Philadelphia on Monday, November 8th, 1852, at the dinner of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

14

HE BELONGED TO THE PAST AND ALAS, BECAME PRESIDENT

PENNSYLVANIA has had only one president of the United States, although 54 of its citizens have served as members of presidents' cabinets.

When a mere lad, James Buchanan often heard his Scotch mother quote Milton, Pope, Young, Cowper and Thomson, as she went about her housework. Perhaps she included Shakespeare. His autobiography doesn't say. In spite of many useful years spent in ably filling places of state and national trust, a few confused months in his old age wrote Macbeth's "Let 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would'" in the otherwise brilliant record of the bachelor president's life.

How much disconsolateness James Buchanan could have saved himself if he had achieved his ambition to sit on the United States Supreme Court bench or if he had remained the country

GEORGE WASHINGTON was serving his first term as president when James Buchanan was born April 23, 1791, in an unpretentious house at Stony Batter on the eastern slope of the Appalachians in Franklin county, where his farmer-merchant Scotch-Irish father successfully conducted a country store. This store was a source of supplies for settlers in the central portion of the state.

Franklin county historians insist that Buchanan's mother tied a bell about the baby's neck to prevent his being lost in the rocks and bushes of the nearby mountains. While his mother's schooling was scanty that she was of a literary turn of mind is certain, for Buchanan himself says so. She was a busy woman with a large

'squire, or the notable diplomat, instead of accepting the presidency in his old age! His character was unsullied, his integrity acknowledged, his ability pronounced.

This summary of Buchanan's life admits its indebtedness to the several biographies of the 15th president, compilations of his letters by James Basset Moore and the Lancaster County Historical Society, to histories of Lancaster and Franklin counties and Dr. J. H. Dubbs' "History of Franklin and Marshall College" and to Beard's "Rise of American Civilization." (Note—It was Dr. Dubbs—"Katy," the undergraduates at F. & M. affectionately called him—who taught history as I have tried to write it.)

family to look after but not too busy to give her children a taste of the better things in books.

Buchanan's account of his own education was

> After having received a tolerably good English education, I studied the Latin and Greek languages at a school in Mercersburg. I was sent to Dickinson College in the fall of 1807, where I entered the junior class. The college was in a wretched condition, and I have often regretted that I had not been sent to some other institution.

This regret may have been influenced by threats of expulsion for disorderly conduct. The college authorities finally permitted him to graduate, but he was refused highest honor placement, although entitled to it because of scholarly attainments. He was then only 18 years old. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1812 at Lancaster, always considered a center for legal lights and at the time the largest inland city in the United States.

As a law student in the office of James Hopkins in Lancaster Buchanan says of himself

> I studied law and nothing but law, or what was essentially connected with it.....I almost every evening took a lonely walk, and embodied the ideas I had acquired during the day in my own language.

Confused as to his political beliefs he opposed the War of 1812 as a Federalist, but volunteered to defend Baltimore, after the British burned the capitol at Washington,

although never called for active service. In 1815 he declared in a speech that the war had been

> glorious in the highest degree to the American character, but disgraceful in the extreme to the administration.

Buchanan served as a member of the Pennsylvania state legislature. As an assemblyman in October, 1814 he made a fiery address on the question of the defense of Philadelphia, opposing conscription and declaring that patriotic volunteers would take care of the needs of the moment. Other members of assembly suggested he ought to become a Democrat. He was undecided. He gained reputation and lucrative fees for that period as a lawyer. His father had urged that it was better

> to be an eminent lawyer than to be part lawyer and part politician.

A tragedy aided the decision.

Buchanan had definitely determined to withdraw from politics in 1819. He was engaged to be married to Anne C. Coleman, the daughter of Robert Coleman, of the family which helped develop the first iron mines at Cornwall, Lebanon county. The Colemans then lived in the recently incorporated city of Lancaster.

There was tragic misunderstanding.

The complete story may never be known as Buchanan ordered a number of papers that would have thrown some light on it destroyed. The executors of his estate carried out his will without disturbing a single seal. Perhaps the most reliable tradition having to do with the blasting of this romance is that Buchanan met a woman and her daughter, whom he knew, enroute home by train from Philadelphia, where he had attended court. The future president extended them the courtesies due to women travelling alone from a gentleman whom they knew. Upon arrival at the station at Lancaster, finding

that no one had come to meet the women, Buchanan felt obliged to escort them to their home. The brother of Miss Coleman was on the train and saw the three in animated conversation and later saw them leave the depot together. After Buchanan had bidden the women good-night he went to his home, bathed, changed his clothes and ate his supper. He decided it was then too late to visit his fiance as he had planned. He was tired and sleepy after the difficult day in Philadelphia and went to bed. The next day he was refused admittance to the Coleman home. Mutual friends soon informed him that the Coleman family had planned a trip abroad.

Whatever the cause of the misunderstanding, it is known that Buchanan was repeatedly denied admittance to the Coleman house. He wrote letters to the girl, but they were returned unopened.

Her strange and sudden death, while on a visit to Philadelphia, within a fortnight after the engagement was broken, furnished material for more gossip.

Young Buchanan wrote to her father. This letter, too, was returned unopened. It is virtually the only one pertaining to this chapter in his life which has been preserved.

James Buchanan to Robert Coleman, Esq.,
Lancaster, December 10, 1819.
My Dear Sir:

You have lost a child, a dear, dear child. I have lost the only earthly object of my affection, without whom life now presents to me a dreary blank. My prospects are all cut off, and I feel that my happiness will be buried with her in the grave. It is now no time for explanation, but the time will come when you will discover that she, as well as I, have been much abused. God forgive the authors of it. My feelings of resentment against them, whoever they may be, are buried in the dust. I have now one request to make, and for the love of God and of your dear, departed daughter whom I love infinitely more than any other human be-

ing could love, deny me not. Afford me the melancholy pleasure of seeing her body before its interment. I would not for the world be denied this request.

I might make another, but from the misrepresentations which must have been made to you I am almost afraid. I would like to follow her remains to the grave as a mourner. I would like to convince the world, and I hope yet to convince you, that she was infinitely dearer to me than life. I may sustain the shock of her death, but I feel that happiness has fled from me forever. The prayer which I make to God without ceasing is that I may yet be able to show my veneration for the memory of my dear departed saint by my respect and attachment for her surviving friends. May heaven bless you, and enable you to bear the shock with the fortitude of a Christian.

I am, forever, your sincere and grateful friend,
James Buchanan.

It was chiefly to divert his mind from this unhappy affair that young Buchanan failed to heed his father's advice. He entered politics in earnest by gaining election to congress, representing Lancaster, York and Dauphin counties.

On this decision hung important changes in the history of the United States.

Buchanan's first speech in congress was made in January, 1822, sustaining the administration of President James Monroe, and of Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, in particular, with reference to a military establishment.

This administration was known as the "era of good feeling." However, President Monroe's veto, in May, of a bill imposing tolls for the support of the Cumberland road, for which Buchanan had voted, produced a strong effect upon his constitutional views, and he began to perceive the dividing line between the Federal and State powers.

Buchanan remained in the House of Representatives ten years—during Monroe's second term, through the ad-

ministration of John Quincy Adams, and during the first two years of Andrew Jackson's administration. In December, 1829, he became chairman of the Judiciary committee of the House. During Adams' term the friends of the administration began to take the name of National Republicans, (afterwards Whig) while the opposing party assumed the name of Democrats. Buchanan was one of the leaders of the opposition in the House.

* * *

However conservative Buchanan may have become in his later years he was a friend of progress, whatever the odds to be overcome, as is indicated in a stump speech he made during gubernatorial campaign days when establishment of a public school system in Pennsylvania was a mooted question, a decade of years before its adoption in 1834.

To Governor George Wolfe goes the honor of establishing the public school system in this state, although his predecessor, Governor John Andrew Shulze, was a man of culture whose messages contained most urgent appeals for legislation designed to put within the reach of all the advantages of an education. The eloquence of Thaddeus Stevens, a Whig, helped to save the law for popular education.

Buchanan's speech, 10 years earlier, shows where he stood. He said

> If ever the passion of envy could be excused a man ambitious of true glory, he might almost be justified in envying the fame of that favored individual, whoever he may be, whom Providence intends to make the instrument in establishing common schools throughout this Commonwealth. His task will be arduous. He will have many difficulties and many prejudices to overcome; but his fame will exceed even that of the great Clinton in the same proportion that mind is superior to matter. While the one has erected a frail memorial, which like everything human, must decay

and perish, the other will raise a monument which shall flourish in immortal youth, and endure while the human soul shall continue to exist. "Ages unborn and nations yet behind shall bless his memory."

The Clinton mentioned was Governor De Witt Clinton, of New York, father of the Erie canal project. Buchanan read aright the future in this instance. Wolfe, a Democrat, was defeated for a second term owing in great part to the divisions in his party on the school question, by Joseph Ritner, a Whig, who was, however, friendly to the public schools. But Wolfe's name is a mounment "in immortal youth" as the founder of Pennsylvania's splendid public schools.

* * *

Buchanan, while in Congress, warmly espoused the cause of General Jackson, including the fight on the United States bank, and by inference, at least, approving of the President's prompt suppression of South Carolina's Federal law nullification ideas. Buchanan was not compelled to take an active position against the doctrines of his friend, John C. Calhoun, ardent nullificationist, for Jackson offered him the post of minister plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg.

In a letter to his brother, Edward, in 1832, Buchanan tells of travelling over the first railroad in England from Liverpool to Manchester at the terrific speed of an hour and one half for the 30 miles. His letter, which was written from London, describes Westminster Abbey as of historic interest but as a

place of worship, however, damp and uncomfortable.

Later he described Nicholas of Russia as a man of

calm despotism, but still a despot.

Buchanan asked his brother to forward his letters to their mother, who then was living at the home of her

son-in-law, Rev. Robert Henry, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Greensburg, Pa.

The aged woman died at her son-in-law's home on May 14, 1833. Her grand-son, James Buchanan Henry, later became secretary to his illustrious uncle.

The eccentric way of carrying his head, always tilted to one side, because one of his blue eyes was near-sighted and the other far-sighted; his strange little topknot and his somewhat cold and aloof bearing did not detract from his distinguished appearance at the Russian capital. He was tall and stately. He had grace and tact—estimable qualities for a diplomat.

Buchanan negotiated a commercial treaty with Russia while in St. Petersburg, securing to the United States important privileges in the Baltic and the Black Sea. In August, 1833, he left St. Petersburg, spent a short time in Paris and London and reached home in November. The next year he was appointed one of the commissioners on the part of Pennsylvania to arrange with commissioners from New Jersey concerning the use of the waters of the Delaware river.

Buchanan received a seat in the United States senate by the vote of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1834, to fill a vacancy caused by the retirement of William Wilkins, of Pittsburgh, who, in turn took Buchanan's place as ambassador to Russia.

The Jacksonian policy of depositing government funds in private banks brought on speculation, resulting in the paralyzing panic of 1837. President Martin Van Buren and his friends, including Buchanan, after a three years' fight with congress, succeeded in establishing an "independent treasury."

In 1839 Buchanan refused to take the post of attorney general in Van Buren's cabinet, preferring to remain in the senate.

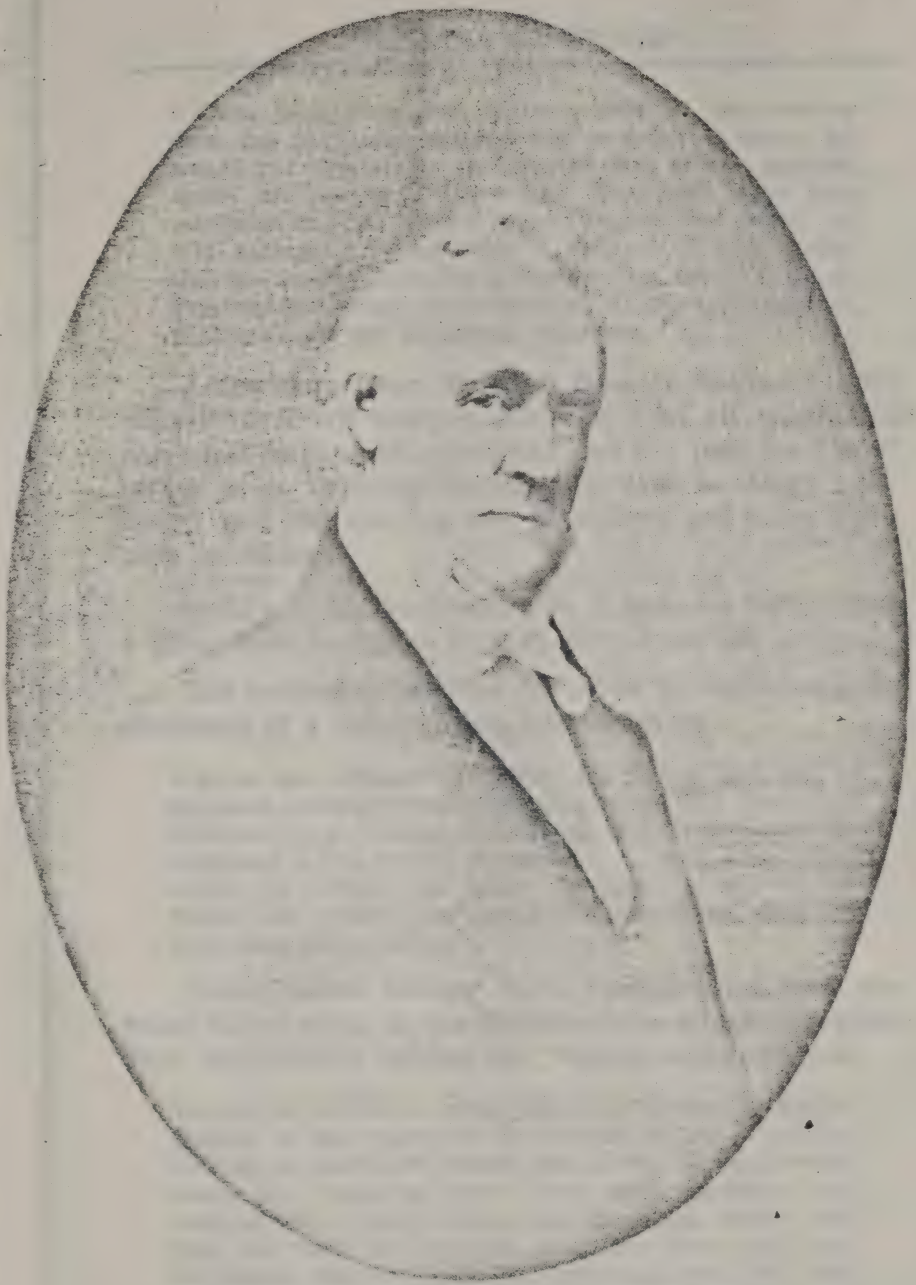
Everything was "fair in politics" in those days and a grand clamor was raised against Buchanan, on the ground that he had argued in the senate in his speech of January 22, 1840, (on the Independent Treasury Bill in reply to Senator Henry Clay) in favor of paying the American laborer but ten cents a day.

As a matter of fact Buchanan's speech said no such thing. Later, during his presidential campaign, the story developed considerably. The "Ten-cent Jemmy" or "Jimmy" nickname, which still is heard occasionally, had its origin then.

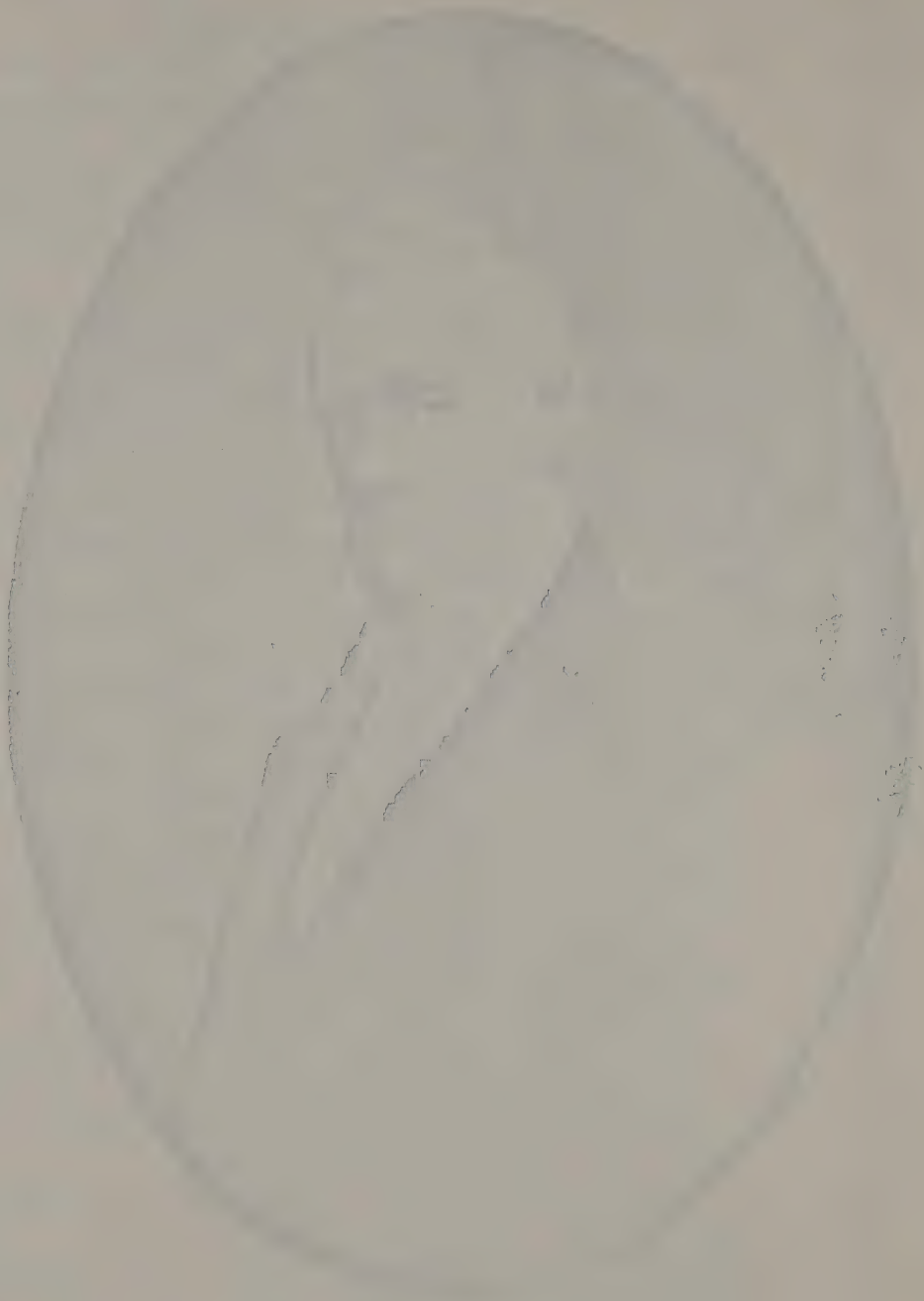
Buchanan's January 22 speech was a masterly discussion of banks and banking and a severe arraignment of "worthless paper money." He said

> ...and these miserable shinplasters, where are they? After the revulsion of 1837, laborers were glad to obtain employment on any terms; and they often received it upon the express condition that they should accept this worthless trash in payment. Sir, an entire suppression of all bank notes of a lower denomination than the value of one week's wages of the laboring man is absolutely necessary for his protection. He ought always to receive his wages in gold and silver. Of all men on earth, the laborer is most interested in having a sound and stable currency.....
>
> If, therefore, you should in some degree, reduce the nominal price paid for labor, by reducing the amount of your bank issues within reasonable and safe limits, and establishing a metallic basis for your paper circulation, would this injure the laborer? Certainly not, because the prices of all the necessaries and comforts of life are reduced in the same proportion, and he will be able to purchase more of them for one dollar in a sound state of the currency, than he could have done in the days of extravagant expansion for a dollar and a quarter.

Buchanan's speech was twisted around by the opposition and wild interpretations of it were made in the senate lobby and even on the senate floor. This is evident from Buchanan's remarks made in the senate on March 3 in reply to Senator John Davis, of Massachusetts.



James Buchanan



> I have been denounced as the enemy of the laboring men, and have been charged with a desire to reduce his wages and depress his condition to that of the degraded crafts of European despotisms. Sentiments have been attributed to me which I never uttered, and which my soul abhors. I repeat what I declared in that speech, that if I could believe for a moment that the Independent Treasury Bill would prove injurious to the laboring man, it should meet my unqualified opposition.

A few days later, March 6, Senator Buchanan again referred to Davis charges, declaring that his speech had been deliberately misinterpreted and his plea for "hard" money made to mean the three or four farthings metal money paid the laboring men in Holland and other European countries.

In July, 1844, the Newark, N. J. Morning Post printed a letter from Buchanan to S. G. Arnold, on this subject.

The newspaper prefaced the letter by denouncing the statement of a Poughkeepsie blacksmith as

> a gross and infamous falsehood; and feeling that one of our most eminent citizens ought not to be thus shamefully traduced by a common blackguard without exposure we addressed a line to Mr. Buchanan . . . If it (the reply) should, by chance, fall under the notice of any of the Whigs who cheered the insulting falsehood, we shall not envy them their feelings.

The dignified senator from Pennsylvania, who was being talked about as the Democratic candidate for president, emphatically refuted the "wicked nonsense" with

> You inform me that a certain Mr. Van Wagener, of Poughkeepsie, in the course of his remarks before a political meeting at your place, stated that in one of my speeches before the Senate in 1840, I had said: 'Mechanics and working men in this country had too much wages, that they had meat for breakfast, meat for dinner and meat for supper, that in Russia the same class only had meat once in two or three months, and that they were fat and sleek and happy; that mechanics in this country were as

well fed as gentlemen, and even had servants, working girls in their families!'

If you had not informed me that 'these remarks seemed to be received with great approbation by the meeting,' I should not have supposed that an audience could be found in the United States which would, for a moment, believe that any senator not a candidate for Bedlam, could have justly exposed himself to the contempt and abhorrence of all mankind by uttering such wicked nonsense . . . so far from having ever said or thought anything to the prejudice of mechanics, one of my nearest and dearest relatives, upon my urgent advice, was bound an apprentice to a trade and is at the present moment a mechanic: and this was a matter of choice, not necessity.

Buchanan withdrew his name as a candidate for president, then, but in a little more than a decade when he became the successful nominee the insidious propaganda continued to attack him and firmly fastened on him a nickname which has lasted to this day.

As secretary of state in the cabinet of President James K. Polk, Buchanan was active in settling the Oregon boundary dispute with Great Britain, which ended with the extension of the northern boundary of the Louisiana purchase along the 49th parallel to Puget Sound. He heartily approved of the annexation of Texas and the ensuing Mexican war which gave the United States additional territory looking toward slavery.

In all American history there are few such revelations of the inside workings of war and diplomacy as come to light in Polk's Diary, edited by George Bancroft. Although Polk has been accused of forcing the war on Mexico for purposes of territorial aggrandizement, his Diary would indicate that but for his resistance to Buchanan and others in his cabinet Mexico would have disappeared as a nation. On September 7, 1847, Polk wrote in his Diary relative to the price to pay for the cession of New Mexico and the Californias

> Mr. Buchanan suggested that this sum should be reduced from 30 to 15 millions, and that the cession of the right of passage through the Isthmus of lower, as well as upper California and New Mexico should be made a "Sine qua non". He suggested also that the line should run on the parallel of 31 degrees or 31 degrees, 30 minutes of North Latitude from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California, instead of on the parallel of 32 degrees which Mr. Trist had been authorized to accept.

Nicholas P. Trist was named by Polk to negotiate with Mexico for peace. On November 9 Polk made this entry

> Mr. Buchanan spoke today in an unsettled tone, and said I must take one of two courses in my next message: viz. to designate the part of Mexican territory which we intended to hold as an indemnity, or to occupy all Mexico by a largely increased force and subdue the country and promise protection to the inhabitants. He said he would express no opinion between these two plans; but after the despatches which were expected from the army were received he would do so.

Polk then went on to explain that his own views were to keep on with the war, holding all the country already conquered, including the Californias and New Mexico, and if the war was protracted by Mexico additional territory might be seized as an indemnity. Polk ends the notation for the day with

> His change of opinion will not alter my views; I am fixed in my course, and I think all the Cabinet expect Mr. Buchanan still concur with me, and he may yet do so.

On November 18 Polk's Diary again comments on the subject

> I requested Mr. Buchanan to prepare a paragraph for the message to the effect that failing to obtain a peace, we should continue to occupy Mexico with our troops, and encourage and protect the friends of peace in Mexico to establish and maintain a republican government, able and willing to make peace.

Mr. Buchanan spoke today in an unusual tone, and said I must take one of the courses in my next message: to designate the part of Mexican territory which was included as an indemnity, or to occupy all Mexico by a largely increased force and subdue the country and provinces in possession to the inhabitants. He said he would express no opinion between these two plans; but after the despatches which were expected from the army were received he would do so.

Polk then went on to explain that his own views were to keep on with the war, holding all the country already conquered, including the California and New Mexico, and if the war was protracted by Mexico additional territory might be seized as an indemnity. Polk

> In Mr. Buchanan's draft, he stated in that event that "we must fulfill that destiny which Providence may have in store for both countries."
>
> I thought this would be too indefinite and that it would be avoiding my constitutional responsibility. I preferred to state in substance that we should, in that event, take the measure of our indemnity into our own hands and dictate our own terms to Mexico.

Once more on November 23 Polk discusses the matter with

> Mr. Buchanan still preferred his own draft, and so did Mr. Walker, (Robert J. Walker, of Tennessee, was secretary of the treasury) the latter avowing as a reason that he was for taking the whole of Mexico, if necessary, and thought the construction placed on Mr. Buchanan's draft by a large majority of the people would be that it looked to that object. I replied that I was not prepared to go to that extent, and furthermore, that I did not desire that anything I said in the message should be so obscure as to give rise to doubt or discussion as to what my true meaning was.

In a long letter to the Democratic Citizens of the City and County of Philadelphia on December 17, expressing regret at inability to attend a mass meeting there Buchanan discussed the Mexican situation. He declared that

> Mexico had for many years endured the very worst Government on the face of the earth. Under the name of a Republic, it was in fact an ever-changing despotism; but without either the disposition or the power to protect the right of peaceable and well-disposed citizens.

He explained in some detail that the war

> has not been prosecuted for conquest . . . Our free institutions forbid that we should subject nations to our arbitrary sway. . . . If they come within our power, we must bestow upon them the same blessings of liberty and law, which we ourselves enjoy.

And then, toward the end of the communication, Buchanan used the same phrase to which Polk objected

> should the military factions in Mexico still persist in waging upon us a fruitless war, then we must fulfill the destiny which Providence may have in store for both countries.

While this was going on a Whig congressman from Illinois, named Abraham Lincoln, on the floor of the House, criticized President Polk for "he knows not where he is".

This congressman, discussing the Mexican war, declared that any people, or even a majority of any portion of a people had a right to

> shake off the existing government and form a new one.

The inconsistency between this attitude toward the governing principles of the Union and Lincoln's war on the south a few years later can only be explained by the course of events. Polk's secretary of state later became president and held to the letter of the law on the same principle Lincoln laid down when in congress. When Lincoln became president the situation had reached the breaking point and academic consistency was shattered by the chaos of civil war.

Polk's message did not contain the offending sentence drafted by Buchanan, and, as all the world knows, Mexico was not annexed, although upper California and New Mexico were ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

About this time Buchanan made an effort to secure an appointment to the United States Supreme Court bench, but President Polk did not agree. Fate decreed other than a tranquil jurist's career for Buchanan.

For a few years Buchanan was a private citizen in Lancaster. Until 1848 he lived in bachelor apartments on East King street. Wheatland, a fine country home purchased from W. M. Meredith, who was secretary of the

treasury in President Zachary Taylor's cabinet, became Buchanan's home the following year.

Buchanan heard that Meredith regretted having sold the property and wrote to him advising that if he wished to reconsider the sale the purchaser was willing. However, Wheatland remained in Buchanan's possession.

Buchanan's national prominence brought him much mail. He wrote in 1851.

> I now receive about 50 letters a day. Last Saturday there were 69 and the cry is 'still they come.' I labor day and night.

In a letter to a friend he said

> The birds are now singing around the house and we are enjoying the luxury of a fine day in the opening spring.

He loved the outdoors. The mountains of Cove Gap over which he roamed in his boyhood had implanted this love. His life at this time is reminiscent of the principal character in the Sir Roger de Coverly Papers. Members of his cabinet, afterward, behind his back but not disrespectfully, called him "the 'squire".

In 1852 at the Democratic convention in Baltimore Buchanan was defeated for the presidential nomination on the fourth day by Franklin Pierce.

Buchanan contributed $50 when Lancaster County Academy (later purchased by Franklin College) was founded. He established a scholarship at Marshall College, (named for John Marshall, fourth chief justice of the supreme court of the United States and father of American Constitutional law) which was founded in 1836 at Mercersburg. His influence had much to do with the marriage of the youthful "Sir Marshall" and the somewhat venerable "Lady Franklin". (Franklin College was founded at Lancaster in 1787 and named for Benjamin Franklin). Buchanan drew up the papers for the combin-

ing of Marshall and Franklin Colleges in 1853. He served as president of the board of trustees of Franklin and Marshall College from its inception.

In 1853 he was described as looking older than his 62 years and was said to be noted for his courtesy to the college boys he chanced to meet on the street. Buchanan greeted them "like princes of the blood".

Buchanan took an active interest in the college which he had helped to organize and gave one thousand dollars to the fund of $25,000 raised for the erection of new buildings. Several sites were suggested. One was in the eastern end of the city near the county jail. Buchanan said

> I do not think the best location for a literary institution is between the court-house and the jail.

The highest ground in Lancaster was chosen, not far from Wheatland, and at the laying of the cornerstone, Dr. Henry Harbaugh, pastor of the Reformed church, said

> Thank God! the college stands higher than the jail. Education must be lifted up and let crime sink to the lowest depths.

Buchanan secured the election of Rev. B. Keenen, a worthy Roman Catholic clergyman, to the board of trustees, believing that the college should represent all classes of the community. For this election there was a precedent inasmuch as a Roman Catholic clergyman was a member of the board of Franklin College as early as 1787. The "Know Nothing" movement was raging like wild fire in many sections of the country about this time and the reverend gentleman resigned his position. But there were many virulent articles in the newspapers of the day.

During the troubled administration of President Pierce, Buchanan was minister to Great Britain. His friends in Lancaster gave him a public dinner before he

sailed. He expressed his regret at being compelled to break his associations with such good neighbors.

While in England Buchanan was the favorite foreign minister at the Court of St. James. He was given the degree of Civil Law at Oxford at the same time that the poet Alfred Tennyson was honored. His ward and niece, Harriet Lane, a handsome blonde of 20 summers, presided most acceptably over the social features of his activities in London. She was dignified, graceful, clever and an engaging talker. Miss Lane became Buchanan's ward as an orphan at nine years of age. She was the daughter of his deceased sister, Jane B. Lane.

Buchanan's inclination to listen to the ambitious overtures of the politically powerful aristocrats of the South led him into signing the Ostend Manifesto with Pierre Soule, United States Minister to Spain, and John Y. Mason, United States Minister to France. The three ministers, meeting at Ostend, Belgium, issued a manifesto which declared that if Spain would not sell Cuba, the United States would take it by force. Buchanan was believed to have been the originator of the move, which palpably curried favor with the Southern politicians then in control of the United States government. Nothing came of it, except more bitterness between the North and the South.

The Democratic national convention was held in Cincinnati in 1856.

The bloody upheavels and quarrels over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill did not involve the minister to England. He became the logical candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. This time Buchanan easily outdistanced President Pierce who sought to be renominated. Pierce, Stephen A. Douglas, and Lewis Cass, were the other possibilities, but in the 17 ballots Buchanan always led. The Southern planting aristocracy

wrote the platform of the party, thus giving the North the candidate and holding for itself the policy of government, as it had for quite a number of years. John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, was the vice presidential nominee.

When Buchanan was nominated on June 3, the Franklin and Marshall College boys became intensely excited. A company of them rushed across the fields to be the first to break the news to him. In the race William A. Duncan, afterward a member of congress, is said to have won the prize. Soon a goodly crowd of citizens had gathered on the lawn at Wheatland. Buchanan said

> Yesterday I should have made a longer speech; but I must now remember that I am the representative of the Cincinnati Platform, and to that document I must refer you for a declaration of my principles.

Opposition newspapers made much of this statement, pointing out that the Cincinnati platform was strongly tariff for revenue only and pro-slavery, two factors repugnant to many northerners.

At the college commencement address on July 23, W. W. Davis delivered the Marshall Oration. The graduate took for his subject "The Decline of Political Integrity" and denounced the conduct of Congressman P. S. Brooks, of South Carolina, who had recently committed a violent assault on Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts.

Buchanan afterwards told the young man that he looked on the dark side of the picture, and that though Brooks had been inconsiderate, his act had not been without serious provocation.

This was another choice morsel for the opposition newspapers.

Among the interesting campaign literature of the day was a pamphlet entitled "Short Answers to Reckless Fabrications against the Democratic Candidate for President, James Buchanan," published by William Rice of Philadelphia in 1856.

The pamphlet quoted from Greeley's New York Tribune

> The charge that Mr. Buchanan has advocated a reduction of laboring men's wages to ten cents per day, has but a very partial support in fact. He certainly never made any such proposition directly or indirectly, nor anything, which he understood to have that effect.

The pamphlet also printed an extract from a speech by Hon. C. J. Faulkner, of Virginia, at a ratification meeting held in Washington in 1856

> It would be quite an entertaining sight to see one of those advocates of the bank rags of 1839 and 1840 . . . seek to insult the intelligence of such men as these (the laborers) by the cry of "Ten-cent Jemmy." (sic) I see that some of our leading Democratic editors are gravely occupied in vindicating Mr. Buchanan from this "ten cent and low wages" calumny. It is all waste time. . . . I have not met with a laboring man of ordinary intelligence in my district who does not understand the origin of this story about "low wages and ten cents", who cannot tell you how the lie was gotten up. . . . They know that the very speech from which they pretend to derive this misrepresentation, is one of the noblest vindications of the rights and interests of the laboring man.

But the nickname stuck, even to this day.

Publication of a large folio in color by J. F. Reigart done in 1856 by the Philadelphia lithographer, L. N. Rosenthal, and entitled "A View of the Country Residence of the Honorable James Buchanan at Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania," today is pointed to as an example of the beginning of American lithography. It was popular during the campaign. The residence at Wheatland is seen through dozens of trees and the background is a forest. The reproduction made by Carl W. Drepperd in his "Early American Prints" includes a small portrait of the candidate holding a manuscript.

Considering this period of history it is necessary to discount in a large measure the prejudices which crowded into the contemporaneous records. It was a period when a successful political career implied a knowledge of fencing, the use of pistols, or at the very least, a strong right arm, and the ability to drink considerable whiskey without showing any ill effects. Buchanan's life story does not include much of this. There is enough authority to determine that he was, like many other prominent men of his time, a connoisseur of good whiskey. It is said that he left a standing order with a Lancaster county distillery to ship a barrel of a certain brand of whiskey at regular intervals to friends he made at the English court.

Cartoons of the presidential campaign of 1856 were villifying to the point of incitement to murder. The country was approaching a period of general violence and gave evidence of it in a reign of universal hate born of misunderstanding and jealousy.

Ex-president Millard Fillmore was the candidate of the American, as the Whig party was called. John C. Fremont, frontiersman, was supported by the newly-formed Republican party, to which were attached many of the Whigs and Free Soilers. The fight was intensely bitter in the border states.

John W. Burgess, internationally known historian, as a boy was an eye witness to a fatal encounter between Whig and Democratic partisans in his native Tennessee. A Whig orator of unusual ability at hurling invective was extolling Fillmore and denouncing Buchanan. In the midst of the flight of oratory a party of Democrats on horseback rode into the place, singing

> Buchanan eats the watermelon,
> But Fillmore eats the rind;
> Buchanan is way before
> And Fillmore is way behind.

A noted rowdy led the Democrats. He had decorated his horse's head with the antlers of a buck covered with flowing ribbons of red, white and blue. He sprang from his horse and approaching the rickety bench on which the orator stood, denounced him as a liar and a slanderer. The Whig struck the man with his fist. The Democrat fired a revolver. The ball missed its mark and killed another man. The Whig drew a bowie knife from his coat sleeve as the Democrat attempted to fire again, sheathing the weapon in the latter's breast. The Democrat fell dead.

In another border state—Illinois—the fight was just as intense. One of the campaign speakers was a tall country lawyer, who wore a stovepipe hat which made him seem taller, a long linen duster which made him look longer, and who carried a little satchel and a faded brownish green umbrella which led Carl Sandburg to say

> he looked as though he came from somewhere and was going somewhere.

It was Abraham Lincoln, on the stump for the Republican party. He asked his audience what was the issue and answered

> Simply this, Shall slavery be allowed to extend into United States territories now legally free? Buchanan says it shall, and Fremont says it shall not. That is the naked issue and the whole of it.

After everything could be said, his advice to the voter was

> If he shall really think that slavery ought to be extended, let him go to Buchanan; if he thinks it ought not, let him go to Fremont.

Lincoln told Henry Rankin, a law student in his office, that

> There is practically as much chance of electing God Almighty President of the United States at this time, as Millard Fillmore.

Lincoln told another of his audiences

> See how it works. If a southern man aspires to be President, they choke him down constantly, in order that the glittering prize of the Presidency may be held up on southern terms to the greedy eyes of northern ambition. With this they tempt us and break in upon us.

Pennsylvania, Buchanan's home state, was the keystone then as usual. The New York Times and the Evening Post reported that $150,000 was sent into the state from the slaveholding states; that August Belmont of New York had contributed $50,000; and that other Wall street bankers and brokers, afraid of the rumblings of disunion, disorder, and damage to business from disunion, raised still another hundred thousand dollars.

"Very nearly $500,000" was spent by the Democrats, the New York Times estimated, while the Republican expenses were somewhat less. Facts enough were published and generally known to show that moving behind the political contest in Pennsylvania were business and property interests to which a victory in that state was worth money.

A political news writer of the day described Lancaster, the home of the Democratic candidate for president, as filled with

> plenty of patriotism, native whiskey, roses, small taverns, queer old streets, large Pennsylvania horses, stage coaches, strawberries and pretty girls.

Many Pennsylvanians, already leaning toward the Free Soilers and a protective tariff, yet shouted for "Jimmy Buck-annon", the native son. William F. Packer, who soon thereafter became an anti-slavery governor of the state, had labored for the nomination of Buchanan at the national Democratic convention in Cincinnati. The Keystone Club of Philadelphia, worked the native son idea for all it was worth, campaigning picturesquely for "Old Buck".

To offset the "native son" plea, a few weeks before election, (10th mo. 1856), John Greenleaf Whittier, Quaker poet and ardent supporter of the "Black Republican", Fremont, rhymed some advice "To Pennsylvania". He sang to the voters of the "prayer-founded" state

Across thy Alleghanian chain,
With groanings from a land of pain,
The west-wind finds its way;
Wild-wailing from Missouri's flood
The crying of thy children's blood
Is in thy ears to-day!

Then let thy virtue match the crime,
Rise to a level with the time;
And, if a son of thine
Betray or tempt thee, Brutus-like
For Fatherland and Freedom strike
As justice gives the sign.

Although Lancaster county had several of the stations of the underground railroad and was a hotbed of abolitionist sympathizers, it gave its home candidate a nice vote. This may have been due to some extent to the work of Hiram S. Swarr, who was Democratic county chairman beginning in 1853 and, as a reward, during Buchanan's administration, became postmaster at Lancaster.

* * * *

Stories at the time of Buchanan's philanthropy need not be attributed to campaign propaganda. There is nothing overdrawn about his saying "God help the poor tonight", as he looked out of a window during a snow storm, and then sending a sum of money to the mayor of Lancaster to be spent for fuel for the poor. Fact is he had established a $4,000 fund to help widows and orphans and ordered his name withheld.

His friends were not slow in calling attention to the donation of $500 which Buchanan sent to Mayor W. J. Howard, of Pittsburgh, following a fire which put 1200

buildings in ruins, made many families homeless and entailed a loss of ten million dollars on Thursday, April 10, 1845. It was the largest individual gift.

* * *

Buchanan did not receive the majority of the popular vote.

The 31 states gave him 1,838,169 votes; Fremont, 1,341,264, and Fillmore, 874,534. The electoral vote was Buchanan, 174; Fremont, 114, and Fillmore, 8.

Pennsylvania's 27 electoral votes went to Buchanan, the "native son", by a popular vote of 230,686 to Fremont's 203,534 and Fillmore's 26,337. Whittier's poem probably was read, but not heeded quite enough.

Buchanan got the vote of all the southern states with Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Illinois, Indiana and California to boot. However, the swing of the Whigs and Free Soldiers over to the newly formed Republican party in the north had begun.

In an address to the citizens of Lancaster just before he left to assume the duties of president, Buchanan declared that his great objective would be

> to destroy any sectional party, whether in the north or in the south, and to restore national and fraternal feeling between the different sections.

Buchanan was Lancaster's leading citizen. The whole populace, headed by the mayor and councilmen, marched to the railroad station with him on that cold, blustery March 2. The fencibles were out in full force as a military escort. The church bells were rung jubilantly. All of the Lancaster Intelligencer's local news for this week, was, of course, devoted to Buchanan.

A special car had been prepared for his journey to Washington by rail. The windows of this car were in

colors that represented familiar scenes of and about Wheatland.

Packed away in his baggage was a suit which he later wore for his inauguration. Thirty-one stars, representing the states of the union, with a keystone in the center, were embroidered within the lining to symbolize his dream of unity and cohesion.

Discussing the bitter presidential campaign Buchanan said in his inaugural address

> when the people proclaimed their will the tempest at once subsided and all was calm.

Alas, it was the calm before the real storm.

Buchanan became president at a time when serious and perplexing problems were waiting to be solved.

He was 66 years old—the oldest president except William Henry Harrison, that the country has had.

He belonged to the older school of statesmen.

The times had run ahead of him.

* * *

The impatient horses of secession were straining at the bits. The driver of the national chariot was accustomed to the gentler steeds of compromise.

* * *

The "Squatter Sovereignty" and "Bleeding Kansas" happenings had become dark blots on American history pages. Naturally Buchanan would favor the interests of those who had elevated him to power. He approved of the Kansas-Nebraska act, which nullified the Missouri Compromise and permitted territories to decide for themselves whether to apply for statehood with or without slavery. The validity of the Dred Scott lower court decision was

before the Supreme Court of the United States at his inauguration. He said in his inaugural address

> to their decision * * * I shall cheerfully submit

When the decision was announced shortly thereafter Senator William H. Seward charged that Ex-president Franklin K. Pierce, President Buchanan and Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney had entered into a deliberate conspiracy to hang the millstone of slavery on the neck of the people of Kansas.

True enough, Justice John Catron, of Tennessee, 13 days before the inauguration wrote Buchanan that the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise line would be decided in the famous Dred Scott decision. He asked Buchanan to write Justice Robert C. Grier, of Pennsylvania, stating how necessary it was to

> settle the agitation by an affirmative decision of the Supreme Court, the one way or the other.

Buchanan wrote Grier.

Nine days before the inauguration Grier replied, acknowledging the receipt of the communication and giving a history of the Dred Scott case and saying that the Missouri Compromise line would be declared invalid. The Justice concluded

> Though contrary to our usual practice, we have thought it due to you to state in candor and confidence the real state of the matter.

The Supreme Court could have said, "Whatever was the status of Scott in the upper Louisianan territory while he was there, he was restored to bondage on his return to slave soil and is now a slave." But the court went further. It declared the Missouri Compromise, which had placed all territory below the southern border of Missouri as slave and all north as free, was null and void; that Congress could not constitutionally abolish slavery in the territories.

In all fairness to Buchanan's memory in this abolitionist civilization it is well to note that the charge of deliberate conspiracy on the part of slavocracy falls flat when the papers of Justice John McLean, of Ohio, are examined. McLean had ambitions for the presidency. He tried to get the Republicans to nominate him in 1856 and got 196 votes.

He made another effort four years later. He had announced to his associates on the Supreme Court bench that if the vexatious issue of the Missouri Compromise was avoided he would file a dissenting opinion in the nature of a stump speech maintaining the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the territories—good Republican doctrine.

Coupled with McLean's stiff insistence was that of Justice James M. Wayne, of Georgia, who threatened to announce pro-slavery doctrines in a dissenting opinion if the court did not fairly face the issue.

Buchanan knew what the decision would be when he made his inaugural address, but it was really the ambitions and passions of both political parties within the Supreme Court which was responsible for the judicial opinion, and not a conspiracy.

Buchanan, however, feared the threats of secession which already were being voiced by fire-eating Southerners. He declared to Congress that Kansas was as much a slave state as South Carolina or Georgia, after slave-holders armed with guns had forced a slave constitution on Kansas at the adoption of the Lecompton paper. Congress did not agree and Kansas was not admitted as a state until 1861. It came in as a free state. So did Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859.

* * * *

Buchanan's failure to quell domestic troubles has covered over his success in causing the English govern-

ment to abandon its alleged right to search American ships—a claim, the attempted enforcement of which caused the War of 1812.

His views on taxation were sound enough. He declared in his inaugural address.

> It is beyond question a true principle that no more revenue ought to be collected from the people than necessary to defray the expenses of a wise, economical and efficient government.

Industrial panic burst over the country, spreading distress among business men and free laborers during Buchanan's administration. This followed the tariff reduction laws in 1857. Wildcat bank notes from the west and south flooded the country. The failure of the Ohio Life and Trust company of Cincinnati for seven million dollars started the financial panic. There were 5,123 bankruptcies in the United States and Canada with liabilities of almost 300 million dollars.

Forty thousand workmen out of jobs marched the streets of New York and planted at the City Hall doors banners reading "Hunger Is a Sharp Thorn" and "We Want Work." Agitators and crowds at street meetings threatened to raid the banks in Wall Street and the subtreasury vaults holding $20,000,000 of gold and silver coin; squads of fifty soldiers and fifty marines were detailed to guard the Government cash reserves. In Chicago 20,000 men were out of jobs durings the winter; the city council reduced the wages of street cleaners from seventy-five cents to fifty cents a day so the city money could be spread to larger numbers of hungry families.

The agricultural regions of the western prairies, however, were prosperous.

Senator Douglas sought to introduce legislation in congress looking toward a railroad to the Pacific. Presi-

dent Buchanan and his powerful southern planter friends were interested in breaking Douglas and driving him out of politics because he refused to vote for a slave-state constitution for Kansas, and had split the Democratic party with his claims and evidence that the Kansas election was a fraud.

Douglas had told President Buchanan

> I have bought a through ticket, and checked my baggage.

Buchanan vetoed the Homestead bill. The farmers and mechanics of the north regarded the national domain as their own inheritance. Buchanan's veto angered them against this bit of presidential independence.

His middle of the road attitude on slavery alienated many of his followers on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line.

* * * *

In view of Buchanan's diplomatic work in Russia and England it is fitting that an event of considerable importance to the United States and Europe should have happened during his administration.

Cyrus W. Field at Trinity Bay on board the U. S. Steamship Niagara, on August 5, 1858 notified Buchanan, then at Bedford Springs, that the Atlantic telegraph cable was joined in mid-ocean July 29th and he might expect a message from Queen Victoria when the two ends were connected with the land line. The message from the Queen did not come until August 16th. She wired the President that the cable

> will prove an additional link between the nations whose friendship is founded upon their common interest and reciprocal esteem.

Buchanan, by this time in Washington, replied at once reciprocating congratulations with

It is a triumph more glorious, because more useful, than was ever won by the conqueror on the field of battle.

The commercial success of Field's feat was early demonstrated, but it soon became impaired and communication ceased in September of that year. The "War of the Brothers" intervened. A new cable was laid in 1868.

The great silver mining industry of Nevada was begun in 1859 by the discovery of the Comstock lode.

Petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania near Titusville, August 28, 1859. It was incidental, of course, so far as Buchanan personally was concerned, but when Colonel E. L. Drake struck oil in that 69 foot well on that late August day, a dramatic moment in history was enacted.

Neither Buchanan nor Lincoln, nor probably anyone else, imagined in those days that within the space of three generations a new industry — oil — would sweep around the globe. Civilization was to be revolutionized industrially. Oil was to hasten the Machine Age, annihilate space, carry man into the skies. Mankind, lined up behind an agrarian south and an industrial north, was to wound itself over the question of keeping a few black men in shackles, while a gigantic natural slave, began to spout untold billions to be added to the wealth of the world.

* * * *

Meanwhile the irrepressible conflict between two modes of thought and living, between the high tariff industrial north and the tariff for revenue only agricultural south was seething. The fanaticism of abolitionists, Uncle Tom's Cabin and the famous John Brown raid in 1859 were sparks that started the conflagration. The time had passed for pacification. Futilely Buchanan strove against the flame of dissension.

However, his administration was not all governmental trouble and turmoil. His staunch integrity is best demonstrated by two incidents.

During Buchanan's administration the revenue cutter "Harriet Lane", named in honor of his niece, an uncrowned queen, was sent to Washington.

Howell Cobb, of Georgia, secretary of the treasury, seized the opportunity to invite all the public officials and many prominent citizens in Washington to an excursion on this recent and handsome addition to the revenue marine. The trip down the Potomac proved a brilliant success.

After it was all over, Buchanan, who did not go, desired to know who was to foot the bill. The Secretary was somewhat embarrassed when informed that it must not be paid from the Treasury, but that, he, the President, would, if necessary, draw his own check for the amount.

Cobb managed the matter without taking it from public funds.

A Franklin county admirer sent a barrel of whiskey to Washington as a gift for the President. The gift was accepted, but soon thereafter the resident of Buchanan's native country was agreeably surprised by receiving a package containing $75.

President Buchanan liked to pay his own way.

Another incident of Buchanan's administration was the visit of the Prince of Wales Albert Edward, afterward King Edward VII, of England, to the White House, while in America in 1860. President Buchanan took the young prince to Mount Vernon and the great-grandson of George III planted a tree beside the grave of George Washington. Harriet Lane, mistress of the White House for her uncle, had been a favorite in court and diplomatic circles while Buchanan was minister to England. The

visiting prince renewed his contact with her charm, good taste and diplomacy. Years afterward (Queen Victoria lived until 1901), when he became king at the age of 60, the American woman was an especially invited guest at his Coronation Ceremony.

* * * *

Whatever may have been Buchanan's shortcomings in dealing with the troublesome slavery question, he was consistent. In his inaugural address he set forth his policy which he continued until the end of his term.

> The whole Territorial question being thus settled upon the principle of popular sovereignty—a principle as ancient as free government itself—everything of a practical nature has been decided.

The onus rested upon Congress and it was for him to carry out the laws which Congress had made on the subject. There was no option in his case. He did what the Constitution required him to do.

In his third annual message he discussed sectional hatred and strife. This was shortly after the bloody occurrences at Harper's Ferry.

> Let me implore my countrymen, North and South, to cultivate the ancient feeling of mutual forbearance and goodwill toward each other and strive to allay the demon spirit of sectional hatred and strife now alive in the land.
>
> This advice proceeds from the heart of an old public functionary whose service commenced in the last generation, among the wise and conservative statesmen of that day, now nearly all passed away, and whose first and dearest wish is to leave his country tranquil, prosperous, united, and powerful.

This "old public functionary" thought that he could settle the bitter differences of opinion by edict. He longed for the old days of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster when compromise still was possible, and hoped that the

present question like others threatening in the past would be

> volcanoes burnt out, and on the lava and ashes and squalid scoria of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine and the sustaining corn.

The legislation of his administration was in the hands of the pro-slavery party, and the President's conduct in enforcing the laws formulated by Congress made it appear as though he endorsed such policies.

In his fourth annual message he said

> It is with great satisfaction I communicate the fact that since the date of my last annual message not a single slave has been imported into the United States in violation of the laws prohibiting the African slave trade.

His messages teem with conciliatory measures; but he did object to the interference of unsympathetic abolitionists in the affairs of other states.

He was outspoken in his demands for conciliation, declaring

> The long continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at last produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. * * *
>
> How easy it would be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country! They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this the people of the North are not more responsible and have no more right to interfere than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil.

Again referring to the President's responsibility and duty in the premises, he said

> After all, he is no more than the Chief Executive of the Government. His province is not to make but to execute laws.

He proposed an "explanatory amendment" of the Constitution on the subject of slavery.

This was a month after Abraham Lincoln, the Republican, had been elected president.

A split up of the Democratic party had occurred. The Whigs also were weakened.

The rail splitter, who had made a famous speech paraphrasing St. Mark that a house divided against itself could not stand and that America would become all slave or all free, was on his way to the White House.

The cartoonists of the period were merciless.

Drepperd has reproduced some of the caricatures Louis H. Stephens did for "Vanity Fair" (1859-64), dealing with Buchanan and Lincoln. Some of them were bitter and harsh. "Vanity Fair" was a little known but much alive humorous publication of the time. Buchanan is pictured as a "curious bulb", a toad, a comet, a meerschaum pipe, a jack-in-the-box, and a gas fixture. On November 13, 1860, Lincoln is pictured as a surgeon, ready to perform a wonderful operation—that of separating the political Siamese Twins, President Buchanan and James Gordon Bennett. The latter was publisher of the New York Herald.

* * * *

Spending his usual summer vacation at Bedford Springs earlier in the year Buchanan discussed religion with the Reverend Doctor William M. Paxton, of New York city, another guest at the mountain resort. The President said he proposed to make a public profession

upon his retirement from the Presidential chair. When urged to take the step at once, his reply was, with deep feeling

> I must delay for the honor of religion. If I were to join the church now, they would say hypocrite from Maine to Georgia.

After his return to Lancaster in the spring of 1861 he affiliated with the First Presbyterian church there.

Dr. Paxton is authority for the statement that Buchanan liked many hymns, but that Manoah by Francis Joseph Haydn, with words by William Cowper, was his favorite. It is entirely probable, in view of Buchanan's harassed presidential years, that he may, as the doctor said, have accepted for himself "Light Shining Through the Dark".

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.
Ye fearful saints, fresh courage take;
The clouds ye so much dread
Are big with mercy, and shall break
With blessing on your head.
Judge not the Lord, by feeble sense,
But trust Him for His grace;
Behind a frowning providence
He hides a smiling face.

* * * *

In Washington, that winter between November and March—1860-1861, when it rained or snowed the unpaved streets of the uncouth city swam in mud. When they were dry the wintry winds swept clouds of dust up and down the thoroughfares—a physical condition that typified the mental atmosphere. The air was thick with gossip and opinion. President Buchanan was distraught. His advisers were at loggerheads.

Shortly after South Carolina's ordinance of secession of December 20, 1860, Buchanan sent a special message to Congress in which he said

> no State has a right by its own act to secede from the Union or throw off its federal obligations at pleasure * * * the Union must and shall be preserved by all constitutional means.

But he declared it was the duty of Congress

> to devote yourself to the question how this can be accomplished in peace. All other questions, when compared to this, sink into insignificance. The present time is no time for palliations. Action, prompt action, is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe or to recommend a distinct and practical proposition for conciliation may drive us to a point from which it will be almost impossible to recede.

He wanted to save the Union without war.

He called for a national day of prayer to avert bloodshed.

He refrained from sending reinforcements to Major Anderson, commanding the forts in Charleston Harbor, to avoid furnishing a pretext for war on the part of South Carolina.

* * *

The ungovernable horses of secession had taken the bits between their teeth and bolted. The driver of the national chariot, instead of pulling on the reins, tried to stop the run-aways by edicts.

* * *

January, 1861, perhaps was the most confused month in all the history of the United States.

"Colored news" prevailed in the newspapers north and south. Southern newspapers printed stories of riots

and bloodshed in New England factories. However, the Raleigh (N. C.) Banner said

> The big heart of the people is still in the Union. Less than a hundred thousand politicians are endeavoring to destroy the liberties and usurp the rights of more than thirty millions of people. If the people permit it, they deserve the horrors of civil war which will ensue.

The Northern newspapers were more venomous. The Washington correspondent of the Chicago Tribune wired on January 3 that President Buchanan had met with his cabinet the day before, and,

> The row recommenced. The President, like a pusillanimous coward, refused to take sides, and, shaken like an aspen leaf, entreated them not to quarrel, and offered them some old whiskey—his unfailing remedy. The old man has become little better than a sot. He keeps saturated with Monongahela whiskey. He drinks to drown remorse and stupefy his brain as he staggers along with the treasonable gang who have possession of him.

The next day was the one set apart by the President for fasting, prayer, and humiliation. Services were conducted in nearly all churches in the northern states. The Springfield correspondent of the Chicago paper wired

> Mr. Lincoln attended church today, in obedience to the Presidential proclamation, and it is to be presumed that in his prayers Mr. Buchanan's backbone was not forgotten.

The Atlantic Monthly's leading article that January said

> Washington is the Elysium of oddities, the Limbo of absurdities, an imbroglio of ludicrous absurdities. Planned on a scale of surpassing grandeur, its architectural execution is almost contemptible. The houses are low, the rents high; the hacks are black, the horses white; the squares are triangles, except that of the Capitol, which is oval. It has a Monument that will never be finished, a Capitol that is to have a dome, a Scientific Institute which does nothing but report the rise and fall of the thermometer. In spite of the labors of the Smithsonian

> Institute it has no particular weather; it rains, hails, snows, blows, freezes, and melts in Washington, all in the space of twenty-four hours. The men are fine-looking, the women homely. The latter have plain faces, but magnificent busts and graceful figures. The former have an imposing presence and an empty pocket, a great name and a small conscience.

The times were at sixes and sevens.

The picture remains blurred even today.

Buchanan wanted no blood-letting.

His attempts to prevent it appeared timorous.

Secretary of War John B. Floyd, of Virginia, had almost persuaded Buchanan to command Major Anderson to have his troops return from Fort Sumpter to Fort Moultrie, which had been abandoned because of its insecurity. The steamer, Star of the West, was fired on in Charleston harbor on January 9.

Horace Greeley, a great editor, and Henry Ward Beecher, a great preacher, said, "Let the seceding states depart in peace."

Thurlow Weed, Republican politician, and Stephen A. Douglas, Democratic politician, sought a compromise.

Senators Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Salmon Chase, of Ohio, were for immediate and unconditional coercion.

Buchanan's cabinet began to crumble. His advisers continued to wrangle among themselves.

Vaccillation reigned supreme.

Buchanan, perhaps, was unwise in keeping in office for a time those whom he knew were for secession. However, he promptly moved Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, from the attorney-generalship to the secretary of state portfolio in his cabinet when Lewis Cass, of

Michigan, resigned, and made Edwin M. Stanton, attorney general. These two stalwarts upheld Federal power within the confused circle of Buchanan's authority during the last few months of his presidency.

Cass had resigned because he could not reconcile himself to staying in the cabinet of a president who would not take stern action in stamping out secession. It was Black who had prepared and supported that part of the President's message relating to the South and secession. However, upon his transfer to the post of secretary of state he became a strong defender of the Union. Floyd and Cobb, and Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, secretary of the interior, after serving the South as far as they were able in their official capacities, resigned to continue the work of disunion in their respective states. Joseph Holt was named secretary of war and John A. Dix, of New York, secretary of the treasury. These were all strong Union men, and under their influence the attitude of the administration was radically changed.

Dix is remembered for his famous message to the treasury agent in New Orleans, commanding him to take charge of the revenue cutter at that port, and ending with the order

> If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.

The work of the new cabinet, which, it is to be noted, after all, was appointed by Buchanan, increased confidence in the government throughout the free states, and strengthened the sentiment in favor of maintaining the Union.

* * * *

The story is told that Black, after serving a short time on the cabinet, had gone to Buchanan and told him he would have to resign because of financial difficulties. The President asked how much it would take to tide him

over. Black named the amount and Buchanan turned over that much, taking Black's note and saying

> I could not dispense with my secretary of state.

When Black was prepared to liquidate the debt some years afterward Buchanan carefully questioned him as to his financial ability to do this. When reassured Buchanan turned to his desk to compute the interest. Black rapidly did the same and filled in a check. When he handed it to Buchanan, the President examined it and said, "It is ten cents too little." Black reached in his pocket and handed over the dime. Thus the sobriquet of "Ten-cent Jimmy" again was appropriate.

* * * *

As one after the other of the southern states seceded during that fateful winter and spring of 1861, the president was called upon by the House of Representatives to explain

> The reasons that have induced him to assemble so large a number of troops in this city, and why they are kept here; and whether he has any information of a conspiracy upon the part of any portion of the citizens of this country to seize upon the capital and prevent the inauguration of the President-elect.

In his reply Buchanan declared

> These troops were ordered here to act as a posse comitatus, in strict subordination to the civil authority, for the purpose of preserving peace and order in the city of Washington, should this be necessary before or at the period of the inauguration of the President-elect.

He admitted he had no proof of a secret organization which proposed to seize the capital. It was a time of high excitement. Buchanan, at least, did the proper thing, we now know. We agree at this distance with his stand

> Had I refused to adopt this precautionary measure, and

> evil consequences, which many good men at the time apprehended, had followed, I should never have forgiven myself.

The day of the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln came, March 4, 1861. An eyewitness gives this description

> Near noon I found myself a member of the motley crowd gathered about the side-entrance to Willard's Hotel. Soon an open barouche drove up, and the only occupant stepped out. A large, heavy awkward-moving man, far advanced in years, short and thin gray hair, fullface, plentifully seamed and wrinkled, head curiously inclined to the left shoulder, a low-crowned, broad-brimmed silk hat, and immense white cravat like a poultice, thrusting the old-fashioned standing collar up to the ears, dressed in black throughout, with swallowtail coat not of the newest style. It was President Buchanan, calling to take his successor to the Capitol. In a few minutes he reappeared, with Mr. Lincoln on his arm; the two took seats side by side, and the carriage rolled away.

On the Capitol steps platform, Senator Douglas relieved his old time political rival, A. Lincoln, visibly embarrassed, of his high silk hat. Buchanan heard the inaugural address which included the firm

> In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. * * * You have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the government; while I shall have a most solemn one to 'preserve, protect and defend it.'

Then the aged bachelor bade his successor farewell at the White House, saying (so he told a Lancaster audience later)

> If you are as happy, my dear sir, on entering this house, as I am in leaving it, and returning home, you are the happiest man in this country.

Bidding farewell at the Washington depot to his postmaster general, Horatio King, he expressed his great

relief that his administration had closed without bloodshed.

* * * *

Years afterward, James Buchanan Henry, his faithful ward and private secretary (Blood is thicker than water) said

> Mr. Buchanan, to the day of his death, expressed to me his abiding conviction that the American people would in due time, come to regard his course as the only one which at that time promised any hope of saving the Nation from a bloody and devastating war, and would recognize the integrity and wisdom of his course in administering the Government for the good of the whole people, whether North or South. His conviction on this point was so genuine that he looked forward serenely to the future, and never seemed to entertain a misgiving or a doubt.

Prejudice has colored much of the comment on Buchanan's administration.

Buchanan's own book attempted to show that the Civil War had its origin in the intense antagonisms begotten by the mutual recriminations of abolitionists and fire-eaters.

The collection of papers edited by John Bassett Moore gives the bare documentary facts for the reader to digest.

W. U. Hensel's speeches and writings ignore whatever faults Buchanan may have had. The same is true of "histories" by Lancaster and Franklin County writers. George Ticknor Curtis wrote a very laudatory biography. He held that Buchanan was almost universally misunderstood. Horatio King wrote a rather dispassionate survey of Buchanan's administration called "Turning on the Light." Rushmore C. Horton attempted a similar chore.

Usually reviews of the administrations of the several presidents put Buchanan at the bottom as weakest. John

Sergeant Wise in his "Recollections of 13 Presidents" says Buchanan was a

> weak, vacillating, hysterical old man, with whom everybody, friend and foe alike, at last lost patience.

Most of these comments were made too soon after the events.

Time is needed for a proper appraisement. "Who Rules America?" (1934) by John McConaughy, is kindly. The author shows that back of the ideals of Washington, back of the passionate democracy of the much maligned Aaron Burr, back of Jefferson, back of Lincoln, back of all great figures, has lurked the figure of greed ready to smash through and rob the people. It is a scathing indictment of portions of American history. When the writer comes to Buchanan he says

> President James Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian, an honest man, and a good Constitutional lawyer, refused to take any steps toward a coercion of the seceding States, because he held that he had no Constitutional authority. The laws of the Union were supreme in those States as long as they remained in the Union. When they seceded as they had a right to do, those laws no longer applied. . . . The plain truth, which is visible through much of the propaganda of those fateful months before the storm broke, was that the tariff wolves of Pennsylvania and New England saw their fat sheep escaping, and they did not intend to suffer such a loss.

* * *

Buchanan's neighbors and "back home" folks had not forgotten their "squire", in spite of differences of opinion when considering his policies while in the White House. Some of them went as far as Washington to escort him home.

Accompanied by Miss Lane and other members of his household, the ex-president proceeded to Baltimore and stayed overnight at the home of Zenos Barnum. Remembering the War of 1812 days the Baltimore City Guards

marched to the house and their band played the "Mocking Bird Quickstep". The visitors were informed that the guest of honor had retired for the night, but soon he appeared at a window and told the assemblage that he highly appreciated the

> honor paid to an old man going out of office.

The next day additional Lancaster citizens met the train on which he was riding at York. At Columbia, the first stop in Lancaster county, about 150 citizens caused the train to be stopped on the outskirts of the town. It was proposed to stage a demonstration but time would not permit this. However, as the train moved on toward Lancaster it was stopped at a point on the Harrisburg pike.

Buchanan was conducted into an open barouche drawn by four gray horses.

Then with the City Guards marching ahead the little procession proceeded to Wheatland.

The band played "Home Again."

The venerable ex-president was deeply touched by these demonstrations of respect. Addressing the "mayor, old neighbors, friends and fellow citizens", he said that he had come among them in 1809, almost a half century before, and had learned to love them. Now in these troubled times

> May God preserve the Constitution and the Union, and His good providence dispel the shadows, clouds and darkness which now cast a gloom over the land.

Within a few weeks the Lancaster Intelligencer had a paragraph at the head of its editorial column explaining that the reason ex-President Buchanan had not replied to correspondents lay in an indisposition resulting from a heavy cold.

Soon he was to begin a heavy correspondence explaining his policies as president.

Buchanan left the White House disconsolate that the Crittenden Compromise proposing a constitutional edict which would divide the United States by the parallel of 36 degrees 30 minutes, and providing for the federal government to pay the owner for every fugitive slave captured, had failed in Congress.

Historians dispassionately piecing together the kaleidoscopic events of those days declare that Lincoln and his Republican brethren, supported and carried through Congress an amendment to the Constitution declaring that for all the future the federal government should be denied the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any state. On March 4, 1861, the day Lincoln was inaugurated, the resolution was sent forth to the states for their ratification, with Lincoln's approval. No less an authority than the historian, Beard, declares that three states had actually ratified it when the outbreak of physical combat, which Buchanan had so much dreaded, burst in all its fury about his successor's head.

By the irony of fate, not the deliberate choice of men, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution when it finally came three years before Buchanan's death, was to abolish slavery in the United States, not to fasten it upon the continent to the end of time.

* * * *

With the cannon's roar at Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, the reckless horses of secession upset the national chariot and ran amuck. They carried the riders of the four steeds of the Apocalypse—Malignancy, War, Devastation, Death.

* * * *

On May 6th Buchanan wrote to the editors of the National Intelligencer asking for back numbers of the paper for his files. Commenting upon the facility with which military gentlemen relieve themselves from their

oaths and change their allegiance and discussing the sacredness of such oaths in all ages and in all countries he added that

> Major Beauregard, when he discharged the first gun against Fort Sumpter, lighted a flame which it will require a long time to extinguish. The people of the North at present are enthusiastically unanimous. They never were roused until that shot was fired. I often warned Southern gentlemen that this would be the inevitable result.

During the bloody years of the internecine strife Buchanan became almost a recluse at his Wheatland home surrounded by its fine old oaks and maples. For a time he devoted his attention to writing a long defense of his administration, frankly setting forth the motives by which his actions were guided, entitled "Buchanan's Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion."

He was a lonely figure.

He seldom left the confines of his estate, but would take his exercise walking down to the old spring house or out to the walnut grove.

He felt the calumnies of his political enemies keenly, even more the desertion of his political friends. He had few associations.

Some rowdies from outside districts pelted his house with too ripe fruit.

Buchanan's Masonic brethren of the lodge over which he had presided as worshipful master in more kindly days, one by one grasped his hand, pledging their own lives and property for the safeguarding of his.

When the Confederate army advanced toward Gettysburg in 1863 Buchanan sent many of his valuable papers to New York city for safe keeping. This gesture, inconsequential as it may have been, showed that the reports

that he was friendly to the Confederacy and the Confederacy to him, were idle calumny.

* * *

Inconsequential incidents were magnified. There is a story (none too well authenticated) that Dr. J. H. A. Bomberger, distinguished theologian and founder of Ursinus College, and first graduate of Marshall College, called to see Miss Lane, Buchanan's ward. The ex-president deliberately (so it was charged) mispronounced the caller's name. The visitor, who was well known to Buchanan took this persona non grata sign to heart. His friends, too, resented the alleged slap. Other stories reflecting upon the old man who was given more than his just share of buffeting from a cruel, thoughtless public opinion, were rife.

Innuendoes gathered about the name and person of the ex-president. A colored cab driver meeting Buchanan at the Lancaster railroad station is supposed to have leaned back and said to his fare, "Well, Jemmy, you sure made a mess of it in Washington".

Rancorous gossip imagined much.

* * *

For two years his fellow members on the Board of Trustees of Franklin and Marshall College refused to accept his resignation as chairman. Buchanan feared, he said, that the association of his name with the college might harm it. Finally, the board agreed to accept the resignation tendered once more in 1865, with a resolution stressing his weight of years as the reason for relieving him of his duties, so creditably performed for 13 years. He was then 74 years old.

The reputation for coldness grew as he became more aloof during the last years of his life. It was the keen criticism of the times which made him so. At heart he

was still the kindly, genial gentleman, who always had been a pleasant acquaintance.

* * * *

Intimate glimpses of James Buchanan's later life are to be found in letters to John M. Cooper, for several years chief of the secretarial staff of the president. Buchanan was not forsaken by all of his oldtime friends.

Cooper was born in Chambersburg and as a boy heard United States Senator Buchanan make an address. It became his ambition some day to know this great man. That ambition was realized when he became editor of the Lancaster Intelligencer and later the Chambersburg Valley Spirit. Cooper who lived in Blair county near Martinsburg until 1904 is responsible for the Judge Black ten cent story noted in earlier pages. He was a close friend of both men.

His version of the tragedy which blasted Buchanan's early romance with Miss Coleman, which Cooper related to his daughter, Augusta C. Smith, and other members of his family, likewise has already been told. An addition to the story is that years afterward at a public reception given in the White House the brother of the dead girl appeared in the line of visitors who sought to shake hands with the chief executive. When the brother approached the president, Buchanan put his right hand behind his back and coldly said

> Sir, I cannot shake hands with you. You are the murderer of your sister.

Cooper got the story from William Shunk, an attorney and also a close friend of Buchanan.

There is visible authority for the letters written by Buchanan, after both men had retired from public life, which were treasured by the Cooper family.

One, written at Wheatland, Nov. 24, 1865, indicates that Buchanan enjoyed a good meal and that his book setting forth his policies as president was not a typographical success. He said

> I regret exceedingly that I shall not be able to see Mr. Smith and yourself tomorrow afternoon. There has been a chowder dinner on hand for some time at Mr. B.....'s for my especial benefit. It was to come off some day this week; but I had not anticipated, until my return home, it would be given on Saturday. The lady herself was here in the meantime.
>
> Mr. Shunk complains much of the style in which the book has been gotten up, though not of the price. He says that a large number have been taken in York. He objects especially to the paper and the roughness of the binding. Upon comparison I find the paper is not nearly so good as that of the proof sheets.

That Buchanan was opposed to suppression of free speech as well as the harshness of the Federal reconstruction program is indicated in another letter to Cooper, dated Feb. 26, 1866

> Please purchase for me $5.00 worth of the address of W. Shunk at Bedford. Desire to present them to the Young Men's Democratic club. The more I reflect upon it, the more am I startled with the order of the Commander-in-chief placing the troops of eleven states of the Union under control of the army. And yet this does not seem to have alarmed the country. The order to devastate the Shenandoah Valley, though cruel in itself, is against the laws of modern war and without example in the practice of civilized nations for nearly two centuries; yet it is a single act not comparable to the disastrous enactment with the right claimed to suppress public journals of the country by absolute mandate of the military authority.

A letter, dated July 24, 1866, in which Buchanan asks for Cooper's assistance, presumably at Bedford Springs, and speaks of illness which Buchanan said he feared

> would disqualify me from traveling today. I shall be in at the time appointed if possible. If not, go on. I

shall follow tomorrow. The room No. 225 which Mr. Shannon engaged for me, though the best in the house, you can take. It is high up. I enjoyed it two years ago, but now my limbs are weak and with difficulty I travel up and down stairs. I take with me my servant, Thomas Morgan, who must have a room near me, adjoining if possible. I should like to have two rooms on the lower or the second story of the same building with No. 225.

One of the last communications Buchanan wrote before his death was in reply to a letter from his former secretary felicitating him upon his birthday anniversary. There was no bitterness in his heart for his enemies. This letter was written just 38 days before Buchanan's death.

Wheatland, 24 April, 1868.

My dear Sir,

Many thanks for your kind congratulations on my 77th birthday! I have been a long time a pilgrim upon earth and have enjoyed many blessings from a bountiful Providence throughout my long career. I have, also, experienced disappointments and have suffered from calumny & ingratitude; but such is the fate of almost every man who has occupied a high official position. I trust I have borne them all with Christian patience & fortitude. — I cannot expect long to live, and I humbly trust I may be ready to depart when my appointed time shall arrive.

I am truly rejoiced to learn that your family are well & highly pleased with your new residence. With my kindest regards to Mrs. Cooper & all; and wishing you & yours many days of health, prosperity & happiness, I remain

Sincerely your friend
James Buchanan

John M. Cooper, Esquire.

A tradition that Cooper often related to his family had to do with the pride his superior took in his Scotch ancestry. Buchanan is said to have kept constantly in his office or room a plaid representation of the clan to which his family belonged.

Squirrels ravaged the Cooper attic and nibbled on the precious Buchanan manuscripts but fortunately before

that happened Ella Snowberger had copied some of the letters and printed them in the Morrisons Cove Herald, in Martinsburg. The birthday letter, carefully framed, hung on the walls of a tavern on the outskirts of Altoona in 1934.

* * * *

His close friend, Hiram Swarr went to see him on May 30, 1868, the day before he died, and gave to the Lancaster newspaper Buchanan's last public statement.

> My dear friend, I have no fear for the future. Posterity will do me justice. I have always felt, and still feel that I discharged every public duty imposed upon me conscientiously. I have no regret for any public act of my life and history will vindicate my memory from every unjust aspersion.

Buchanan knew the end was near. He gave Swarr minute instructions as to funeral arrangements which were to be in a plain and simple manner and without parade. (This like others of his edicts was unheeded. His funeral was the largest Lancaster had experienced up to that time). He furthermore instructed Swarr not to break the seal on some personal papers relating to his early life. He informed Swarr that he desired a simple tombstone over his grave in Woodward cemetery with merely his name, date of birth and death and the words "Fifteenth president of the United States" thereon.

His last illness took the form of rheumatic gout, brought on by continued eating of too much meat. He died June 1, 1868. He had lived long enough to see the return of peace in his beloved country, sorrowing over the martyrdom his successor in the White House had suffered.

Reverend Doctor John W. Nevin, president of Franklin and Marshall College, delivered the funeral sermon. Dr. Nevin stressed the unjustness of "ex post facto

judgment." To be just to his memory it is necessary not to consider Buchanan apart from the environment of his position. Buchanan's Masonic brethren performed the last rites.

At Washington on June 2nd, President Andrew Johnson, announced the death of this "eminent citizen and honored public servant." All Executive Departments were immediately placed in mourning and all business was suspended on the day of the funeral. The War and Navy departments displayed all flags at half-staff. Gen. U. S. Grant ordered each military post the day following the receipt of the order to fire 13 guns at dawn of day, and afterwards, at intervals of thirty minutes between the rising and setting sun, a single gun, and at the close of the day a national salute of 37 guns. The officers of the Army wore crape on the left arm and on their swords and the colors of the several regiments were put in mourning for six months.

It was a republic's way of paying honor to the memory of an ex-president.

* * * *

Buchanan made his will January 27, 1868, and added several codicils within the next year, one of which provided payment of $1,000 for expenses to William B. Reed, who was to prepare a biographical work. Five thousand dollars was bequeathed to Reed's wife as compensation for the writer's work, upon its completion, which by the way, never happened.

The will named Hiram B. Swarr, his close friend, and Rev. Edward Y. Buchanan, the ex-president's brother, as executors and trustees. This brother was an Episcopalian rector for many years at Trinity Church, Oxford, Philadelphia. Buchanan's older brothers died early in life. He kept up a correspondence with Edward, and occasionally visited him. The congregations swelled prodi-

At Washington on June 2nd, President Andrew Johnson announced the death of this "eminent citizen and [illegible] public servant." All Executive Departments were immediately placed in mourning and all business was suspended on the day of the funeral. The War and Navy departments displayed all flags at half-staff. Gen. U. S. Grant ordered each military post the day following the receipt of the order to fire 13 guns at dawn of day, and afterwards, at intervals of thirty minutes between the rising and setting sun, a single gun, and at the close of the day a national salute of 37 guns. The officers of the Army wore crape on the left arm and on their swords and the colors of the several regiments were put in mourning for six months.

It was a republic's way of paying honor to the memory of an ex-president.

— — —

Buchanan made his will January 22, 1857, and added several codicils within the next year, one of which provided payment of $1,000 for expenses to William K. Reed, who was to prepare a biographical work. Five thousand dollars was bequeathed to Reed's wife as compensation for the writer's work, upon its completion, which by the way, never happened.

The will named Elliott E. Swarr, his close friend, and

giously when the president and his secretary attended services at Oxford occasionally during the administration.

The will gave $1,000 to the Lancaster Presbyterian Church of which Buchanan was a member.

Wheatland was bequeathed to his niece, Harriet Lane Johnston, by the last codicil in August, 1867, providing for deduction of $12,000 from her share of the estate for the 22 acre tract with appurtenances. Miss Lane, before Buchanan's death, was married to Edward E. Johnston. Sometime after her uncle's death, she lost her husband and two sons. She herself died in July, 1903, shortly after returning from abroad.

Buchanan said in his will that he had full confidence both in the integrity and eminent business capacity of his niece's husband but deemed it prudent

> to secure to her maintenance against the unforseen contingencies of future years.

The bequest to her was ordered held in trust by the executors. She and Buchanan's brother received one fourth of the estate

> neither shall be charged with considerable advancements I have made to each in my lifetime.

The will added $2,000 to the fund of $4,000 Buchanan had provided for purchasing fuel for the use of poor and indigent females of Lancaster during the winter season. This fund is still in existence and the interest applied for relief.

Esther Parker, his housekeeper, was given $200 worth of furniture from his personal belongings and the sum of $5,000

> which with $2,000 already given to her she well deserves and I commend her to the kindness of all my relatives after my decease.

His arrangements for providing in proper legal nomenclature for his several nieces and nephews, grand nieces and grand nephews until they should reach the age of 21, if younger than that at the time of his death, were thorough.

These included his private secretary, J. Buchanan Henry, the surviving child of his deceased sister, Harriet B. Henry; the three minor sons of his deceased nephew, James B. Lane; Mary E. Dunham, daughter of his deceased sister, Maria T. Yates; and the four grandchildren of his deceased sister, Maria, by her first husband, Dr. Jesse Magaw. Dr. Magaw was one of Buchanan's teachers during the Mercersburg days.

On June 10, 1868, W. W. Brown and W. F. Swift made an affidavit that they had witnessed the signing of the will and it was offered for probate. It is now in the records of the Register of Wills office in Lancaster. With it are the accounts filed by the executors from time to time.

The first accounting showed that the executors had received $323,081.78 and disbursed $229,733.92. Later accountings show further distributions of the estate. It was a sizeable fortune for those days.

The inventory discloses Virginia and Tennessee state loans made by the former president, the former $8,586.05 and the latter $5,337.50. He owned a farm in Montgomery county, Maryland, and real estate in Clarion county, Pennsylvania, in addition to Lancaster properties. He ordered in his will that all real estate should be sold and the proceeds divided by the executors

> when in their opinion this will best promote the interests of my residuary legatees.

* * *

"No man is a hero to his valet", applied to Marshall Catinet and attributed to Madame Cornuel, in Buchanan's

case is to be taken contrarily. Montaigne said, "Few men have been admired by their domestics." Buchanan was one of the few. He inspired loyal devotion from his housekeeper, long after his death, when others were not so kindly.

Esther Parker, so handsomely mentioned in his will, after Buchanan's death moved into a house she built for herself on West Orange street, Lancaster. She never married. In the wealth of tradition handed down in the Steckman family, who lived next door, was the tidbit, related by Miss Parker, that when Buchanan offered wine or whiskey to his friends he always drank first!

Throughout the years, Miss Parker, who had served for a long period as housekeeper, first at Wheatland then at Washington and at Wheatland again during less happy days, after her employer's death took young Charles Steckman, the boy next door, and proceeded to Woodward Hill cemetery. There she scrubbed the tombstone of the man to whom she had offered a glass of water in his last illness, and with the assistance of the boy, cut the grass in the cemetery lot in season.

She kept the marble shaft and its immediate surroundings spick and span until the weight of years made it impossible for her to do this labor of love.

Miss Parker had sufficient funds, thanks to Buchanan's will, to keep her in comfort to the end of her days. About five years before her death, she broke a leg and spent quite a while in St. Joseph's hospital. The fracture never healed properly due to her advanced years. She was taken to her home and was an invalid until her death, in 1899, aged 94 years.

Some of the Buchanan mementoes, including an inkwell and decanter, which she received under the terms of Buchanan's will, were presented to members of the Steckman family.

In Chambersburg, the seat of Buchanan's native county, and which Confederate troops burned the year after the battle of Gettysburg when a ransom of half a million dollars in paper or $200,000 in gold was refused, you will find the log cabin in which Buchanan was born, moved from Stony Batter, first to Mercersburg and later to the county seat.

A statue of the 15th president, shaded by stately elm trees, stands near his beloved Franklin and Marshall College in Buchanan park, a few blocks from Wheatland. His old home no longer is owned by a Buchanan relative.

"At home," both in Stony Batter and in Lancaster James Buchanan's memory is kept green. Time has mellowed the bitter criticism aimed at the reputation of the man derisively called "Ten Cent Jimmy" and who had dubbed himself an "Old Public Functionary." Character will survive when all else withers.

James Buchanan has taken his rightful place in history as a great Pennsylvanian.

15

THE FINISHING TOUCH

NOT intended as a text book, although it well may be studied with profit by the student, this book has incorporated most of its bibliography within the body of its context. There had to be dates to fix time periods but these are not of prime importance.

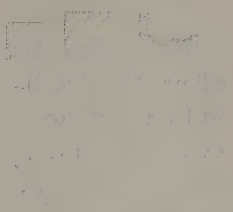
There are no review lessons. It has presented some old, some new, viewpoints on the history of the formative years of Pennsylvania, the Keystone state. When it was possible opinions were strictly omitted and quotations from original sources used instead.

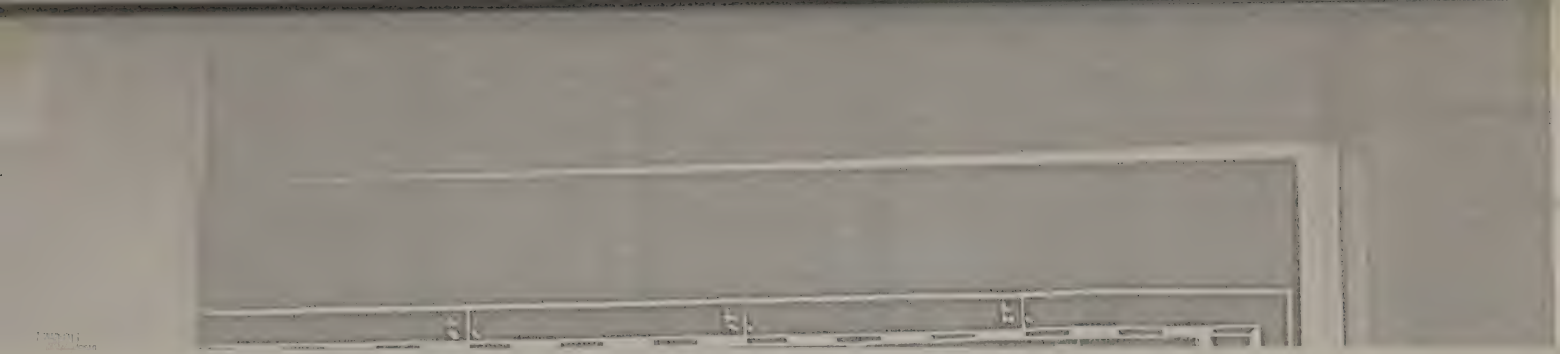
This final chapter may be considered as more or less of a preface, and gathering of loose ends, but making no apologies for historical facts which have been omitted.

When data of more recent years was used it came from The Pennsylvania

WHAT Pennsylvania history should be taught in the schools of Pennsylvania probably will be a mooted question as long as there are historians and teachers.

The Swedes were the first white men to settle on what now is the soil of Pennsylvania. Their government was not lasting. Pennsylvania's history really begins with William Penn, so far as permanent influences go. True enough, British ambassadors had told Swedish plenipotentiaries that the Cabot claim to American soil would not be pressed. Gustavus Adolphus, great Swedish king, foresaw what the colonization of America would mean to the oppressed and distracted people of the Old World. He dreamed of a "Holy Experiment" not unlike that William Penn later put to work. But the German





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P. OF N. JERSEY
MARYLAND
Ft. Cumberland
Map of the PROVINCE of PENSILVANIA

Pennsylvania
In 1756, from the
Map
Published in that year by the
London Magazine
T. Kitchen Gr.

Manual for 1931, published by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Particularly is this true of page 25.

Wallenstein at Lutzen ended the life of the great monarch on the battlefield.

Peter Minuit, the Dutchman, and his vessels, the "Key of Calmar" and the "Griffin," carrying Swedish settlers, reached what is now Pennsylvania soil in 1638, six years before William Penn was born. These things are interesting, if not of great importance in the formation of the state. Of course, the descendants of the Swedes, who lived on Pennsylvania land when Penn took charge, readily fell in with his ideas because they had similar aims. Imperialism was not one of those aims, however. The Swedes easily were absorbed.

The disputations over the famous Elm Tree treaty are mentioned once again here because of a brief conceived in the mind of John C. Dight, deputy secretary of Pennsylvania Internal Affairs in 1934. Dight thinks it entirely plausible that instead of making a new treaty with the Indians, William Penn merely confirmed the treaty made previously by his cousin, William Markham. That treaty is in the archives at Harrisburg. It was made with the Shackamaxon Indians and duly signed by their marks. What really is important is that some treaty dealing justly with the Indians was made. Dight's surmising is as good as any other.

Much has been written about George Washington, but students appear to have overlooked stressing his associations with Pennsylvania. As a young man he won his spurs in Western Pennsylvania surveying and fighting with the French and Indians. In all he made seven journeys to Western Pennsylvania, the last time, when in spite of his other great responsibilities as President of the newly formed United States, he proceeded as far as Bedford with the army sent to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion.

Much of his campaigning during the Revolution was done in Eastern Pennsylvania, including, of course, the low point of the Revolution at Valley Forge. When the Constitutional convention was held and later as President Philadelphia was his place of residence for many years. Pennsylvania was the keystone of Washington's major activities, just as it was the keystone of many other events so important in the formative period of our country.

* * *

The disputations over the origin of the name Keystone State are familiar. The name probably arose after the French major, L'Enfant, laid out Washington as the capital of the nation. The stones for the new capitol were not all needed, and some of them were used to make a bridge over Rock Creek, a small stream flowing between Washington and Georgetown. Thirteen stones of the arch were visible and the Frenchman carved on the faces of these stones abbreviations of the name of the states. "PA." was cut on the central or key stone.

John Morton's deciding vote, when the 13 colony delegations were tied and Pennsylvania's delegation itself was deadlocked on the question of Independence in 1776, surely has as much right to prominence as the ride of Caesar Rodney to break the tie in Delaware's delegation. Historian C. Hale Sipe's enthusiasm in this connection is well directed. Philadelphia's refusal to welcome British ships loaded with British tea bearing a Colonial duty culminated in the turning back of the vessel "Polly" in 1773, almost three weeks before the "Boston Tea Party." These things are a matter of "Keystone pride". But these incidents were part of a development which embraced the whole of America, and not necessarily the spark which started a conflagration. It was a Pennsylvanian, Benjamin Franklin, who brought the spark to America which really started the successful attempt for the independence of the colonies. This spark was Thomas Paine, who came to

America in 1774, at the behest of Franklin who had befriended him abroad for the "genius in his eyes".

Thirteen months later Paine published his "Common Sense" which said

> Freedom has been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger; and England has given her warning to depart. O, receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind!

The 50-page pamphlet for independence was hailed as the unspoken thought of America. Washington said it turned the wavering scale of public opinion toward complete freedom from the mother country.

Paine's "The Crisis", which began with the words, "These are the times that try men's souls," was ordered read to the army by Washington.

Paine's erratic life and later attacks on Washington and his notorious "Age of Reason" lost him the place history should give him.

* * * *

Tradition has a way of attempting to make itself history, and sometimes it is hard to keep it out. One story prevalent in Western Pennsylvania for years is hereby nailed to the mast. "Aunt Jane" Leonard was head of an educational institution called the Indiana State Normal School. The story had her engaged to President Buchanan in her girlhood. She was one of the finest women the state has ever known.

This letter is from Hope Stewart, dean of women at Indiana State Teachers College.

> In reply to your letter of recent date I can only say that so far as I know the tradition is without any foundation whatever.
>
> Miss Leonard told me many times that the story was quite

impossible. Her reply when asked was, "Any one who knows U. S. history should know that there could be no truth in the story". I have no idea where or when the story started. Fantastic stories often originate among college groups.

President Buchanan was 66 years old when he became president (1857-1861). At this time Miss Leonard was a young country girl from Clearfield county studying at Millersville Normal School. She came to Indiana as preceptress when the school opened in 1876. President Buchanan died in 1868.

Miss Leonard died in 1924. She was a remarkable woman —one in a thousand.

Actual history is confronted by much debris.

Some of the descendants of the older brothers of Buchanan were persuaded by some attorney overly anxious for a fee, that there was a chance to have Buchanan's will upset at this late date. Many certified copies of the will were made within recent years at the Lancaster courthouse upon request of such descendants. Buchanan's estate long since has been closed.

The Lancaster County Historical Society has done some fine work in gathering authentic Buchanan material, having for example the speech of presentation and acceptance but not the hickory cane with eight knots on its head (one for each letter of Buchanan's name), presented by some Iowa Democrats in 1851. The Society has published many other Buchanan manuscripts.

* * * *

Mention of Christopher Sholes and his invention of the typewriter which stretches the "Plus" in the title of this book to 1873, presents itself as a fitting factual conclusion. Sholes was a native Pennsylvanian, born in Mooresburg, in little Montour county.

* * * *

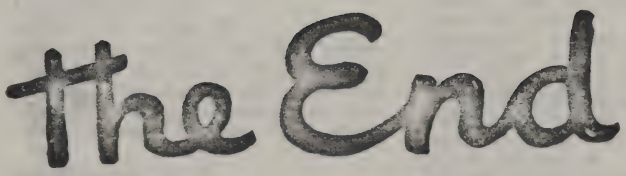
One must place one's self in a retrospect of the

times when considering historical events. Then, and only then, may turning points of history be properly appreciated.

Dates may be of relative unimportance but that fails to cover the chagrin at finding the year of the Hot Water Rebellion on page 92 of this book in error. It should be 1798!

Human nature may remain much the same throughout the years, but its application in the business of living changes. It is the study of these changes which makes history so interesting.

And nowhere is history more interesting and more important than are the annals of Pennsylvania, the Keystone State.



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